THE HISTORY OF Great *BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*;

FROM

The First Discovery of these Islands to the *Norman* Conquest.

Wherein the Relations given us by *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, *Bede* and the *Saxon Annals* are faithfully rendred into *English*. And the Antiquities of the *Britains*, *Picts*, *Romans*, *Scots*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*, Collected from Mr. *Camden*, Arch-Bishop *Usher*, the Bishops *Stillingfleet* and *Lloyd*, and other Antiquaries, are reduced into one Uniform, Methodical Discourse; with Reflections upon the whole.

By *THOMAS SALMON*, M. A. late Rector of *Mepsal* in *Bedfordshire*.

The Second Edition.

With a PREFACE, wherein the Partiality of Monsr. *Rapin*, and some other Republican Historians, is Demonstrated.

By Mr. *SALMON*, Author of the MODERN HISTORY.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

Mr. *SALMON's*

PREFACE

TO THE

HISTORY

OF

Great Britain and *Ireland.*

THE Liberty which all Parties have taken to wreſt our ancient Hiſtories to ſerve ſome favourite Schemes, render it abſolutely neceſſary, to have recourſe to the Originals, and view thoſe Authors in their genuine Dreſs. It is now become the ſole Deſign of almoſt every Writer, to frame his Story ſuitable to the Sect or Party he is of; and where he meets with Facts that ſeem to thwart his darling Opinions, either totally to ſuppreſs or miſrepreſent them: And this is practis'd chiefly in that part of our Hiſtory which is moſt ob-

ſcure, and treats of Times at the greateſt diſtance from the preſent. To redreſs which Abuſe, the Author of the following Treatiſe collected whatever was valuable relating to the Antiquities of the Britains *and* Saxons, *and thoſe other Nations who poſſeſs'd theſe Iſlands before the* Norman *Conqueſt, and reduc'd them into one Volume, that thoſe who have not Leiſure or Opportunity to conſult the Records themſelves, might, by this Tranſcript of them, obſerve when partial Writers wou'd lead them out of the way to ſerve a Turn. But this Artifice of wreſting Ancient Hiſtory to countenance ſome Modern Principles and Practices, ſurely never prevail'd more than of late; of which we have an Inſtance in Monſieur* Rapin, *a* French *Refugee, who has undertaken to write the* Hiſtory of England *in his own Language, for the Advantage of Foreigners, as he tells us, but ſuited exactly to the Taſte of our* Engliſh Diſſenters; *for his main Drift ſeems to be to ſhow, that our Government ought of right to be* Republican, *and our Religion* Presbyterian: *For the* Saxons, *he aſſures us, from whom our preſent Conſtitution is deriv'd, had no Kings amongſt them, but their Government was purely Ariſtocratical.*

From Knox *and* Buchanan *with equal Confidence he affirms, that* Presbytery *was eſtabliſh'd in theſe Iſlands before* Epiſcopacy. *He acknowledges indeed that he is a* Presbyterian *himſelf, and conſequently a* Republican, *but aſſures us, that he is however exceeding impartial, and has a particular Reſpect for the Church of* England *and our preſent Conſtitution; which Declaration, no doubt, all* Epiſcopal *Men will have a particular Regard to.*

I ſhall not here enter into the controverſial Points above mentioned; namely, whether the Inhabitants

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of this Iſland before the Conqueſt were Republicans *and* Presbyterians, *or not, but only exhibit a Specimen of Monſieur* Rapin's *way of reaſoning, and of that univerſal Impartiality he ſeems ſo highly to value himſelf upon. But before I proceed further, it will be neceſſary to premiſe, that this Gentleman, like ſome others of his Party, has a very ſurprizing Talent of granting and denying the ſame thing.*

When Truth ſtares him in the Face, and appears too well ſupported to be abſolutely denied, he will ſeem to afford us his Aſſent, or at leaſt uſe ſome equivocal Expreſſions, which will admit of half a Dozen Meanings; but then immediately after, he ſhall ſpend two or three Pages in ſhewing that 'tis poſſible, if not probable, the thing he admitted may be falſe; and this he knows thoſe of his own Sect will have a much greater Regard to, than his former ſeeming Conceſſions. But to give an Inſtance or two of the Cloſeneſs and irreſiſtible Force of this Gentleman's Arguments,

We deriv'd our Conſtitution, he ſays, from the Saxons, *for there is but a trifling Difference between the ancient* Saxon *Common Wealths, and the Monarchy of* England *at this Day: The* Saxon *Generals did indeed take upon them the Stile and Title of Kings, when they had fix'd themſelves in* England, *but this was no more than a Feather in their Caps; they had no Authority over thoſe they brought with them, they only preſided in their* Wittena Gemots, *or National Councils, and executed the Reſolutions of thoſe Aſſemblies, as was the Practice in* Germany, *and therefore our* Engliſh *Princes ought to aſſume no greater Power, for if they do, there is an end of the Parallel between the* Saxon *and* Engliſh *Conſtitutions.*

But

The Preface.

But to obſerve a little further what Scope this Gentleman gives to his Imagination; Hengiſt, *whom the* Britains *invited into* England, *he takes for granted, was no Sovereign Prince, or had any Civil Authority in his own Country; he was only elected General* pro hac Vice, *and might have been depriv'd of his Command, even by the Soldiers he brought with him, from which Premiſſes, he proceeds to draw this Conſequence;* That ſince *Hengiſt* was not naturally their King, he could only become ſo by the Election of thoſe under his Commands.

Now ſhou'd we admit (which will be exceeding difficult to prove) that there was no ſuch thing as a Monarch or Sovereign Prince among the Saxons, *but that they were govern'd by their* Wittena Gemot's, *or Councils of wiſe Men, conſiſting of the Heads of Families, will it follow from thence that the Soldiers who attended* Hengiſt *in his Expedition to* England, *were veſted with Sovereign Authority, or cou'd controul and command their General, as the Deputies of the States do in the Armies of* Holland? *For if the Soldiers were Subject to the State which ſent them upon this Expedition, and to* Hengiſt *only as their General, What Authority had they to transfer their Allegiance to* Hengiſt, *and elect him for their King, when they themſelves were Subject to ſome* Saxon *Commonwealth?*

Indeed Monſieur Rapin *himſelf, in Concurrence with all other Writers of thoſe Times, has given us ſo plain and full an Account of* Hengiſt's *Acceſſion to the Kingdom of* Kent, *that this Buſineſs of an Election ſeems to be perfectly unneceſſary. He admits that that Crown was conferr'd on him by* Vortigern,

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and that Hengiſt *thereby became Sovereign of* Kent, *in the ſame manner as* Vortigern *was, who made that Ceſſion to him, and that* Hengiſt *had thereupon a Right to the Allegiance of the* Britains *he found there. But, ſays he, this cou'd not give him the Sovereignty of the* Saxons; This cou'd never be brought about but by their Choice of him for their King. *And 'tis true, taking the Word* Choice *in its full Latitude, we may admit, that the* Saxons *became* Hengiſt's *Subjects by their own Choice, as every Man is a Subject who chooſes to reſide under the Protection of the* Engliſh *Government; and yet it will not neceſſarily follow from thence that the King of* England *is elected to that Dignity by ſuch Foreigners as chooſe to reſide here.*

Allowing (but not granting) that Hengiſt *was not a Sovereign Prince in* Germany, *and had no Civil Authority over thoſe he brought with him into the Kingdom of* Kent, *yet when* Vortigern *had reſigned that Kingdom to him, might he not give his Followers the Choice of returning to* Saxony, *or remaining with him, without dividing his Authority amongſt them? By returning to* Saxony, *probably nothing but Rags and Penury was to be expected, but upon their ſtaying in* England, *it is ſuppos'd by Monſieur* Rapin *himſelf, that* Hengiſt *propos'd, and afterwards actually parcell'd out, moſt of the Lands in* Kent, *among the Officers of his Army, upon certain Terms, ſuch as the raiſing a Body of Troops upon his Summons, or performing other Services to the Crown. And what occaſion had* Hengiſt *after this to put it to the Vote whether he ſhou'd be their King, or not? The Terms he propos'd to his Followers, were advantagious enough without parcelling out his Authority amongſt them; and ſurely it muſt be a very ſtrong Inclination to ſerve a Party that could induce*

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this honeſt Gentleman to record ſuch ſhallow Surmiſes, and impoſe them upon the World for unconteſted Facts.

Had the Saxons *oppos'd their General* Hengiſt's *accepting the Crown of* Kent, *wou'd he not of courſe have ſaid, Gentlemen you are perfectly at liberty to return to your own Country, but ſince a great Prince has been pleas'd to confer a Kingdom upon me, you muſt pardon me if I take the Liberty to accept it; I have no Favours to ask of you, but if you have any Expectations from me, it will be your Wiſdom to behave your ſelves as becomes my Subjects? What cou'd any Officer in* Hengiſt's *Army reply to this? Is it to be ſuppos'd that any one of them wou'd have refus'd to become his Subject upon his conferring ſome fine* Roman *or* Britiſh *Vill upon him, with an extent of Land ſufficient to maintain a great Man, and ſuch a Command as uſually attended all Feudal Tenures?*

But to give a further Inſtance of Monſieur Rapin's *way of reaſoning; Every People in* Europe, *of Northern Extraction, were govern'd by their* Wittena Gemots, *or Aſſemblies of great Men, therefore their Conſtitutions were exactly parallel to ours at this Day, that is, they had their King and three Eſtates of Parliament as* England *has now, and thoſe who repreſented the common People, were elected as with us, by Freeholders, tho' there were hardly any ſuch, according to the Notion we have of them at preſent.*

And is not this another Inſtance of the Strength of Imagination? He has found out that no Princes were ever ſuch Sotts, as to tranſact Affairs of Conſequence without a Council of Wiſe Men. Therefore *all theſe*

Councils

Councils of Wiſe Men, conſiſted of the Clergy, Nobility, and principal Gentry of the Country, elected by the Commons.

For my part, I am as proud of our preſent Conſtitution, as any Subject of Britain; *but why we ſhou'd honour the* Saxons *with the framing it, who were certainly the moſt ſtupid Generation that ever this Iſland knew, I can ſee no manner of Reaſon for. Can we ſuppoſe that thoſe Gentlemen who determin'd moſt Controverſies by going to Loggerheads, or by Fire and Water Ordeal, ſhou'd ever ſtrike out ſo beautiful a Form of Governmcnt, as that we enjoy at this Day? Surely if to any of our Anceſtors it might be attributed, one would rather have pitch'd upon the polite* Romans, *whoſe Government had a much nearer Reſemblance to ours, than any thing that cou'd be diſcover'd in* Germany *at that time of Day. They had their Conſuls, and ſometimes Dictators, whoſe Power much exceeded that of any* Engliſh *Monarch. They had their Senate alſo, which extreamly reſembled our Houſe of Peers, and the People, or at leaſt their Tribunes, had for ſome time a very extenſive Power.*

But I am not fond of drawing Parallels: There are many eſſential Differences, I'm ſenſible, between the Conſtitution of Old Rome *and* Old England; *nor has our own Government continued thro' any one Century the ſame; ſometimes the Regal Power has approach'd to Abſolute, ſometimes the Barons, and at other times the Commons, have depreſs'd, and even depos'd their Princes; and after an infinite deal of ſtruggling, we have at length pitch'd upon the luckieſt mean that the Wiſdom of Man cou'd invent: We have ſmarted by Extreams, and ſeem now enclin'd to give* Cæſar, *as well as the Senate, their Due;*

Due; and may we ever remain thus equally pois'd, and no turbulent Spirits attempt to over-ſet ſo delicate a Frame of Government. Let us rejoice in our Happineſs, and reſt ſatisfied that our Liberties and Properties have been ratified by a Thouſand Acts and Conceſſions of our Princes, which remain upon Record, and which are alſo, a ſure Baſis to found our Allegiance upon, tho' we had not one ancient Precedent to produce.

I now come to give an Inſtance of Monſieur Rapin's *exceeding Impartiality, which is very evident from his repreſenting the Reigns of King* James I. Charles I. Charles II. *and* James II. *as the moſt Arbitrary and Tyrannical Reigns that are to be met with in Hiſtory; when, if he had look'd but a very little higher, and examin'd the Reigns of* Henry VII. Henry VIII. *and Queen* Mary, *he muſt have acknowledg'd that the Prerogative run at leaſt as high then as in any of the Reigns he mentions. And it is the Opinion of moſt Men, that from the end of the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *to the end of the Reign of King* Charles I. *the Crown rather loſt than gain'd any new Acceſſion of Power. Even Queen* Elizabeth, *whom he gives us as a glorious Pattern of an* Engliſh *Monarch, carried the Prerogative much higher than the three Princes who ſucceeded her, in the Opinion of all thoſe who have any Knowledge of our* Engliſh *Hiſtory; nay, ſhe was much more ſevere upon his Friends the* Diſſenters, *than any of her Succeſſors: And ſome don't ſcruple to ſay, that the Conceſſions which have been made by ſome of them to that Sect, were the real Source from whence all their Misfortunes flow'd.*

Thus I have given a ſhort Sketch of Monſieur Rapin's *cloſe Reaſoning and Impartiality, but this will*

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be much more evident to thoſe Gentlemen who ſhall compare that part of his Hiſtory relating to the Britains *and* Engliſh Saxons, *with the Originals contain'd in this Hiſtory of* Britain. *But this cannot be expected from the Party who have the greateſt Veneration for Monſieur* Rapin; *for theſe make it a Maxim, it ſeems,* never to read but one Side. *To thoſe Gentlemen therefore, who are not blinded by Prejudice or Intereſt, this Second Edition of the Hiſtory of* Great Britain *and* Ireland *is recommended,* as *a full Confutation of all our* Republican Hiſtorians *who Treat of the* Britiſh *or* Saxon *Times, by*

Gentlemen,

Your moſt Humble Servant

T. S.

THE PREFACE.

THE Love of *Truth* is moſt prevalent with the better Part of Men; and accordingly nothing is ſo much deſir'd in *Hiſtory* as the Certainty of thoſe Things which are related. There is no Way of coming nearer to this, than by viewing the *Originals*, from whence our *Modern* Accounts are taken: When theſe lye open before us, every Man is Maſter of the Affair, and needs not to be led by the Sentiments of another. And conſidering how ready ſome are to Romance upon a Story, that they may add a Beauty and Luſtre to their Writings; how great a Biaſs others have to give a favourable Turn according to their own Inclinations, it is not poſſible the Judgment ſhould be ſatisfied without Drinking at the Fountain; which is free from all thoſe Tinctures that the Streams receive from every different Soil through which they paſs.

Nor is there any need to attempt the Repreſentation of thoſe Things, the *Claſſical Authors* have written, in a better manner, than we have from them. None can relate the Tranſactions of *Cæſar* in *Britain* with a more Pure and Fluent Stile than he himſelf has done; Nor is it poſſible to exceed the Judgment of *Tacitus*, who had the fulleſt Information of all that paſt here, whilſt his Father-in-law *Agricola* carried the *Roman* Arms into the very Bowels of *Caledonia*.

But as there is no equalling our Original Authors in their Sence, ſo it muſt be confeſs'd that no Tranſlation can come up to the Excellency of the *Roman* Language: Thoſe who are Maſters of it will find a Pleaſure in them, that they cannot here expect. All therefore that is pretended to is only Conveniency; that what lay ſcatter'd up and down is here brought together; and that we may ſee as much as poſſible what theſe *Romans* would have writ if they had been *Engliſhmen*.

Their Works have paſs'd to us through the Ages of Ignorance, and therefore beſides what is loſt, we ſuffer very much by what is broken and corrupted: But one that truly loves their Excellent Hiſtory, will be glad to take it with all the Defects; and not be more ſevere than to

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wiſh a better Tranſlation, without any Unkindneſs to the Attempt.

We have no great Reaſon to admire the Authors of the middle Age, but we muſt make uſe of them, or we cannot come at the Knowledge of their Times. All that we can hope for from them is Honeſty and Plainneſs, a true Repreſentation of Matter of Fact, and the Series of Affairs in their proper Order. For this we can rely upon none better than *Bede* and the *Saxon Annals*: Theſe are the Foundations upon which the Writers of ſucceeding Ages have built; what they add of their own may be queſtioned, but for the moſt Part we have very good Ground to truſt theſe Two Hiſtories.

Venerable *Bede* was indeed very devout, and apt to ſwallow the Fabulous Relations, which ſupported the Superſtitions of his Time: But then he appears to be a very honeſt Man, that would not report what he thought to be falſe, out of Deſign to delude his Readers: Nor was the *Chriſtian* Sincerity ſo much forſaken in his Time, as it was ſoon after. The Antiquity of his Hiſtory, which he dedicates to *Ceowolf*, King of *Northumberland*, (who began his Reign *Anno Chriſti* 731.) ſets it before all others; and the Honour which our Great and Learned King *Alfred* did to it an Hundred Years after, in his Tran-

ſlation of it into the *Saxon* Language, may ſatisfie us that it was then reputed a True and Valuable Hiſtory.

The beginning of the *Saxon Annals* is plainly taken out of *Bede*; he has an Alluſion, *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 1. That as the Divine Law was contain'd in the Five Books of *Moſes*; ſo the Divine Truth was confeſſed here, in the Languages of Five Nations; the *Engliſh*, the *Britains*, the *Scots*, the *Picts*, and the *Latines*. The *Annaliſts* begin with reck'ning up the ſame Five Nations, which were all the Inhabitants this Iſland had before the *Danes* and *Normans* arriv'd.

When the Writers of theſe *Annals* come within the Compaſs of their own time, they ſet down Things every Year as they came to paſs: This is evident by many Expreſſions, which ſignifie that what they relate was then in being, and they could not tell what the Event would be, but refer it to God.

Their Learned Publiſher, Dr. *Gibſon*, atteſts their Exactneſs, by comparing the Proper Names there mentioned, with thoſe that were ſtampt upon the *Saxon* Coins; and finds that the Alterations are the ſame with thoſe of the Age. As particularly the Ancient Way of Spelling was *Eadweard*, but the *Annaliſts* that liv'd in the Time

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of the *Confeſſor* call him *Edward*, according as the Language was then alter'd.

But then the Difficulty is how ſo many Writers in ſeveral Ages ſhould agree to make one Book, and that this ſhould be found very much the ſame in ſo many ſeveral Libraries? The Account given in the Preface to them is very probable; that every Royal Monaſtery had a Scribe, who was to ſet down the moſt conſiderable Things in every King's Reign; that they met together at the next *Council* or *Synod* after a King's Death, and adjuſted what was to be kept as a Record in the *Archives* of their Monaſteries. This made them all the ſame, except where any Houſe inſerted what particularly related to themſelves. Such a Foundation as this may very well be relied upon, when neither the Superſtition of the Monks, nor the Intereſt they continually maintain'd againſt the Secular Clergy, engag'd them to tell ſome Officious Lies, and to deſtroy the Reputation of a Prince who was none of their Friend.

Theſe *Annals* being originally in the *Saxon* Language, which is underſtood by very few Scholars, we are much concern'd in a good Tranſlation of them: The Publiſher has done all that is poſſible to oblige the World. He has above all aim'd at giving the Genuine Senſe, and not ſo much

much to purſue a *Roman* Phraſe as the *Saxon* Genius. His Work has been ſo highly approv'd of by Men moſt Eminent for this Sort of Learning, that I choſe rather to follow his Latin, than to Pretend to any ſmattering of that Language which I might have my ſelf.

If there be here collected only what is found in theſe Ancient Authors, the great Improvements, which the Learned in the laſt Age have made, would be loſt; and we ſhould be amus'd with a great deal of Hiſtory that lyes in the Dark; there are therefore all along the Sentiments of the beſt Modern Writers inſerted, who ſet Antiquity in a clear Light, bruſh off the Duſt, and remove the Rubbiſh: Which is very Neceſſary to be done for thoſe of the Middle Age, when Senſe and Learning were at a very low Ebb. The Four that are here choſe are thoſe Lights which have ſhin'd brighteſt and pureſt in the laſt Century; Men of ſuch Reputation, as not to ſtand in need of any Character that can be now given them.

Mr. *Camden* has ſo Judiciouſly and Faithfully ranſack'd all the Antiquities of *Britain*, that nothing is left, from whence our Originals may be deduced, which he has not conſider'd.

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Archbiſhop *Uſher* had laid up all thoſe Materials in his *Primordia*, which it was poſſible for any future Hiſtorians to make uſe of when they come to relate the firſt Affairs of *Britain*: There we have the Riſe and Revolution of Kingdoms, as much as any Scrap of an Author would afford.

For underſtanding the *Catholick Church*, eſpecially that Part of it which is planted in *Great Britain*, there are none of the greater Note than the Late and Preſent Biſhops of *Worceſter*; whoſe Pious Labours are moſt conducing to reſtore the Glory and Unity of it.

The Method taken in this Collection is, to give the entire Hiſtory of every Nation apart; for tho' things be never ſo well laid together, yet if they be mixt with one another in the Reader's Brain, it will be impoſſible for the Memory to Recollect them. This requires, that the Citations ſhould be brought in, as they may be moſt Subſervient to the Matter propos'd, and not according to the Time wherein they were Written. As for Inſtance, we muſt give an Account of the *Picts*, who were Natives of *Britain*, before we ſpeak of the *Romans*, who came over and ſubdued the Iſle: Accordingly the Wars of *Agricola* in *Caledonia* came in before the Expe-

Expedition of *Julius Cæsar*; becauſe it was neceſſary to diſpatch the Buſineſs of that People before the continued Diſcourſe of the *Roman* Government here began. And this is done without any Interruption or Diſorder in the Story, ſince *Tacitus*'s Relation is a compleat Summary of all that happen'd in *Britain* from the Beginning to the End of the Twelve *Cæſars*.

No *Roman* Authors make any Mention of the *Scots*, much leſs of their Arrival either in *Ireland* or *Britain*: Nor have we any Authentick Writer that gives a continued Hiſtory of them, ſo that all this muſt be picking Work: But our Learned Moderns have with ſuch Diligence ſearch'd out both the Originals and Proceedings, the Mixture and Conſtitution, of that Nation, that it cannot be Doubtful, whether the Love of Fabulous Antiquities, or the Light of Learning, will prevail.

After the Authors of the *Claſſical* Time, we muſt, for the Continuation of our Hiſtory, be contented with ſuch as occaſionally mention the Affairs of *Britain*, till Venerable *Bede* comes in and gives us the Tranſactions of the *Saxons* both in Church and State. They planted New Kingdoms here, and at laſt fell into one Monarchy: They came hither *Pagans*, and

and were Converted partly by the Old *British* Christians, and partly by the New Missionaries from *Rome*; this made a very great Contest, which being of Considerable Importance to the Church, and particularly set down by our Author, (who lived not long after the finishing of it) deserves to be related at large.

When *Bede*'s History ends, the *Saxon Annals* begin to be more Copious, especially upon the *Danish* Wars: The Nation then felt such Miseries, that made them very Mindful of what came to pass. If we omit the more Inconsiderable Plunderings, and separate the Concerns of this People from those Things which have no Relation to them, we may with Ease be Masters of a Piece of History, which contains the Principal Affairs of *Britain* for above Two Hundred Years.

In the Century before the Conquest, the Affairs of *England* began to be much Interwoven with those of *Normandy*: The great Occasion was, the Marriage of our *Saxon* King *Ethelred* with that Eminent Lady *Emma*, the Daughter of *Richard* I. who was Grandson of *Rollo*, for whose Sake that Part of *France* was given up, and made a Sovereign *Dutchy*, she afterwards Marrying our *Danish* King *Canutus*, and being Mother both to *Hardecnute*

decnute and *Edward the Confeſſor*, made a great Figure in *England*. Her *Saxon* Son having been a long Time an Exile in *Normandy* with her Relations, had at firſt ſuch an Affection to them, that the Young Ambitious Prince there (who was ſomething, though at a very great diſtance, related to him) rais'd ſuch Hopes as at laſt brought him to the Crown of *England*.

The *Saxon Annals* take Notice of the *Norman* Dukes down to the *Conqueror*; and, that his Story might be better underſtood, here are related their Chief Affairs in *England*: Eſpecially at the beginning of the *Confeſſor*'s Reign, when their Intereſt was very great in this Kingdom.

We have much more Reaſon to relye upon theſe *Annals* than any other *Hiſtory*; becauſe they are moſt Ancient, and give the Matter of Fact at the Time when it was Tranſacted: Whereas after the Conqueſt the Monks were under great Temptations to make ſuch Stories as were moſt agreeable to thoſe who had got Poſſeſſion of the Throne. Which yet is much more Tolerable, than after ſo many Ages to lay the Blame of the *Norman* Revolution, contrary to the moſt Authentick Hiſtory, upon thoſe that were betray'd, and no way capable of reſiſting the *Conqueror*. The Avarice, the Tyranny, and very often the Diſloyalty,

loyalty, of the *Romiſh* Clergy are undeniable; but from thence to take an Occaſion of reflecting upon all thoſe whom God hath appointed to Acquaint Men with Eternal Rewards and Puniſhments, is a Prejudice to Chriſtianity, and a Favour only to thoſe that make uſe of the ſame Argument to overthrow all Religion.

The Contents follow very much at large, that they may ſerve both for an *Index* and *Epitome*: Things being much better found by the Connection of *Senſe*, than the Order of the *Alphabet*.

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THE

Historical Collections

Relating the

ORIGINALS,

Converſions, and Revolutions

OF THE

INHABITANTS

OF

Great BRITAIN

TO THE

NORMAN Conqueſt.

CHAP. I.

Of the Britains.

Chap. I

IN tracing Originals, Curioſity is not ſatiſfied without advancing to the Fountain-head: For though indeed the farther we go in Antiquity, our Way lyes more in the Dark, and the choice of our Paths is more uncertain; yet there is a Pleaſure that attends our

Chap. I. search, even when we attain to no more than a Probability. To begin therefore with the Rise of all Nations: We are assured, That (*a*) *by the Three Sons of* Noah *the whole Earth was over-spread.* That the Father's Blessing (*b*) *enlarg'd the Possessions of* Japhet (*c*) *the Elder.* By his Sons were (*d*) *the Isles of the* Gentiles *divided in their Lands; every one after his Tongue, after their Families, in their Nations.* * Our most Judicious *English* Antiquary deduceth the first Inhabitants of *Britain* from *Gomer* the Eldest Son of *Japhet.*

(*a*) *Gen.* 9. 19.
(*b*) *V.* 27.
(*c*) *Gen.* 10. 21.
(*d*) *Gen.* 10. 5.
* *Camden's Brit.* of the First Inhabitants, *pag* 10.

He followed not only the general Opinion of Learned Men therein, but found so much of the Name remaining as may lead us to the Knowledge of our Original. '*Gomer* his Eldest 'Son, in these farthest and remotest Borders of '*Europe*, gave both Beginning and Name to the '*Gomerians*; which were after called *Cimbri-* '*ans* and *Cimerians.* They which are now the '*Gauls*, were (as *Josephus* and *Zonaras* Write) 'called of *Gomer*, *Gomeri.* From these I have 'always thought that our *Britains* drew their 'Beginning; and from thence, for a Proof of 'their said Beginning, brought their Name. 'the proper and peculiar Name also of the '*Britains* hath perswaded me thereunto; for even 'they call themselves ordinarily *Kumero*, and '*Cymro:* Like as a *British* Woman *Kumera*, and 'the Tongue it self *Kumeraeg.* Many Nations of *Europe* still retaining much of the Names of the Sons of *Japhet*, are there alledg'd by him in confirmation of his Opinion.

The *Cimbrian* Name has from the most Ancient Times been all along continued in the Denomination of that great Promontory, which lyes at the Mouth of the *Baltick*; wherein are the

the Countries of *Holſtein* and *Jutland*; which deſerves to be well known by us, ſince from thence *Britain* receiv'd thoſe People, which have poſſeſſed this Iſland above Twelve Hundred Years; if ſhe did not receive her firſt Inhabitants from the ſame Stock, as there ſeems to be the greateſt Probability. Chap. I.

Theſe *Cimbrians* joined with their Neighbours the *Senones*, (who lay upon the River *Sein*) and came down under the Conduct of their General *Brennus* into *Italy*; they Burnt *Rome*, and Beſieg'd the *Capitol*, till the Vertue of the Brave *Camillus* deliver'd his Country from them. This ſeems to be their firſt Expedition into that Part of the World which was able to convey their Hiſtory to us. According to *Lucan.* lib. 2.

'Nos primi Senonum motus Cimbrumque
'furentem Vidimus.

We firſt the Motions of the Senones,
And furious Cimbrians *ſaw.*

Juſt over againſt the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, and the Shores of the *Senones*, lyes *Britain*; it was, as to the latter, within the View of the Continent, from whence the Iſland muſt receive its firſt People: For it is not to be doubted, but as People multiplied they enlarg'd their Poſſeſſions, by entring upon thoſe Countries which lay neareſt to them. Certainly long before *Brennus* led his Multitudes over ſo great a Track of Ground as lyes between the *Sein* and the *Alps*, had paſs'd the Difficulties of thoſe Mountains, and ſet upon the moſt Warlike Nation of the World, his People were in the Enjoyment of *Britain*, whoſe Climate was the ſame with their own,

Chap. I. and whoſe Felicities have been ever courted by all the People about her.

Though the *Cimbrians* were divided into ſeveral Families and Nations, from the *Cherſoneſus* to the *Sein*, and South of it, yet their Language was all the ſame: As we find by the Correſpondence they held with one another in the Time of *Julius Cæſar*; who was the firſt that gave us any tolerable Account of theſe Parts of *Europe*.

There was then no learned Language among them, by which People might be enabled to converſe with thoſe of another Country; nor any Books, whereby the Inquiſitive might get Intelligence of their Affairs: But the *Bards* and *Druids*, who were the Maſters of their Religion and Policy, kept all the Myſteries of their Superſtition in their Memories, and all the Chronicles of Hiſtory in their old Songs.

Theſe were the ſame in all theſe Countries, though *Cæſar* tells us, that thoſe of the greateſt Eminence lived in *Britain*: * *Diſciplina in Britannia reperta, atq; inde in Galliam tranſlata eſſe exiſtimabatur: Et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoſcere volunt, plerumq; illo diſcendi cauſa proficiſcuntur.* 'Their Diſcipline 'was ſuppos'd to have been found out in *Bri-* 'tain, and thence brought over into *Gaul*: And 'now thoſe who deſire to be more exactly ac- 'quainted with it, do generally go thither to 'be inſtructed. The ſame Religion does very much diſcover the People to be the ſame; and though it might not be invented in *Britain*, yet it might remain there with leſs Diſturbance and Alteration; being more out of the Way than it was upon the Continent, where the Nations were invading and mixing with one another.

* *Cæſar de bello Gal. lib. 6.*

How-

Chap. I.

However, this proves their Correſpondence, and there is no more certain diſcovery of the Original of a People than their Language; beſides, that the Intercourſe that was among them ſhews a Friendſhip and an Alliance maintain'd between the Iſland and the Continent: Their Merchants traded with one another, by which they did not only give Intelligence of an Enemy's Invaſion, but (as *Cæſar* tells us) were ready to ſend their Auxiliary Forces. Thus he was diſcover'd when he intended to Invade *Britain*: † *Concilio ejus cognito & per mercatores perlato ad Britannos.* 'His Deſign being made known, 'and carried over to the *Britains* by the Mer-'chants. And we find that the very Cauſe of this Invaſion was their great Friendſhip and Support of one another. * *In Britanniam proficiſci contendit, quod omnibus ferè Gallicis bellis, inde ſubminiſtrata auxilia intelligebat.* 'He reſolves 'to go over into *Britain*, becauſe he underſtood 'that almoſt in all the *Gallick* Wars ſome Auxi-'liary Forces were ſent from thence.

† *Cæſar de bell. Gal. lib.* 4.

* Ibid.

If we conſider how many Ages paſt between *Noah*'s Flood and *Julius Cæſar*, and how long it was before the Art of Navigation had made any conſiderable Improvement, we muſt readily yield that there was a progreſſive Plantation of theſe Countries from their next Neighbours who had them in View; and not bring their Inhabitants through the vaſt and unknown Ocean.

The Flood is placed in the Year of the World 1656, and the *Trojan* War in the Year 2756; ſhall we ſuppoſe that *Britain*, ſo temperate and fruitful a Country, was neglected all this Interval by its Neighbours, till *Brutus* and his *Trojans* came over and ſet up a Government here? Can we imagine them paſſing the *Straights* of *Hercules*;

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cules, and believe all the Succession of their Kings, when there were no Histories in Being? The Truth is, this Interval of above a Thousand Years must be left to the *Cimerians* or *Cimbrians*, whose Affairs never came to Light. The like Absurdities are put upon us for the first Knowledge of *Ireland*; whereas the spreading of the *Cimbrians* is most easie and rational. As *Britain* might be seen from the Shores over against it, so there was a shorter Cut between the North of *Britain* to *Ireland*: And it is most probable that both of them had the same Original People, because they both went anciently under the Name of the *Britannick* Islands. In a Book *de Mundo*, ascrib'd to *Aristotle*, we find, Ἐν τούτῳ γε μὴν νῆσοι μέγισαιτε τυγχάνουσιν ὅσαι δύο Βρεττανικὴ λεγόμεναι, Ἄλβιον καὶ Ἱέρνη. In this [the *Atlantick* Ocean] the greatest Islands are Two, call'd the *Bretannick*, *Albion* and *Jerne*. *Catullus* also, *Epist.* 26. mentions them both, as he doth the Two *Gauls*.

'Hunc *Galliæ* timent, timent *Britanniæ*.
'*Him both the* Gauls *and* Britains *fear*.

However some smattering of the *Cimbrian* Name might continue, yet when the several Tribes descended from *Gomer* were divided into distinct Countries and Governments, it was necessary that they should have other Names, by which they might be distinguished. These were often derived from the Places of their Habitations, as the *Senones*, and the *Salii*, from the Rivers *Sein* and *Sala*: But when the People of several Countries were comprehended under one general Appellation, they took it from the Arms they were accustom'd to use, or from something else that was especially observable in those

Parts

Parts. * *Biſhop Stillingfleet* tells us out of *Strabo*, that about the time of Chriſt, *Thoſe Europeans that inhabited Northward were generally called* Scythæ, *and thoſe to the Weſt* Celtæ. which were Names derived from their Cuſtoms, or from that which was not ſo uſual in the Eaſt. The Name of *Scythian* is given us * from the Teutonick *Schieten*, to ſhoot, becauſe it was their Cuſtom to Maintain themſelves at Home, as well as to go to the Wars Abroad, with their Bows and Arrows. From the ſame ſhooting are the *Scots* alſo denominated who are deſcended from them. * *Bochart* in his *Phaleg* derives the *Celtæ* from a Hebrew Word which ſignifies *Saffron*, and ſuppoſes that Name to be given them from that Colour of their Hair, for which they were anciently taken notice of. But however theſe Languages, which are not ſo uſual among us, may be ſtrain'd, we are ſure the *Romans* gave Names to People from any little difference they obſerv'd about their Bodies, as the *Galli Comati*, and the *Longobardi*, may Witneſs.

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* Antiq. *Brit.* Pref. *pag.* 36.

* *Skinner Etymol. in Scythes & Scotos.*

* *Lloid. Lex. Etymol. in Caltas.*

As to the peculiar Name of *Britain* Mr. *Camden* gives us a Word, which is not only moſt agreeable in the Sound, but whoſe Signification imports ſuch a Cuſtom as was moſt obſervable, and whereby they might be very well diſtinguiſhed from the other Nations of the World. * *The Word Brith among the* Britains *implieth that which* Britains *were indeed, to wit, painted, died, and coloured. Thus were they called by their Neighbours the* Gauls, *who ſpake the ſame Language: And though the* Britains *delighted in Aſperations, yet the* Romans *carefully avoided them. To the Word* Brit *therefore they added* Tania, *which we find in the Greek Gloſſaries betokeneth a Region. That this is ſo I do*

* Camd. *Brit. of the Name.* p. 26, 27.

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the more firmly believe, because that besides our Britain, *other Countries end in the Termination* Tania: *And those verily lying in the West Part of the World, namely,* Mauritania, Lusitania, Aquitania.

The Names of well near all the most Ancient Britains *had some Signification of a Colour, which no doubt arose from this kind of Painting. As* Cogidunus, Mandubratius, Cartismandua, Togodumnus, Bunduica: Whose Derivations the Antiquary there gives at large.

We have many Accounts of the *Britain's* Custom in painting themselves; but none more Authentick, and to be regarded, than that of *Julius Cæsar*, who was himself among them, fought them, treated with them, receiv'd Hostages from them, and could not but know what Sort of Persons they were. His own Words are,

† *Cæsar de bell. lib.* 5. † *Omnes verò se Britanni luteo inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem, atq; hoc horribiliore sunt in pugnâ aspectu. All the Britains dye themselves with Wood, which makes a Sky-colour, whereby they had the more terrible Aspect when they fought.*

* *Speed's Ancient Brit.* pag. 167. * *Solinus* in his Historical Collections gives a more particular Description of their Paintings: *That they made several Artificial Incisions in the Skin of their Infants, by which the Shapes of divers Creatures were so incorporated, that they grew up with them, and encreased with their Stature. These were esteem'd such Ornaments by them, that in their Publick Feasts and Sacrifices they would expose them to the View of the Company:* * *And again*

* *Plin.* Nat. Hist. lib. 22. cap. 1. 'Pliny, Simile plantagini glastum in Galliâ vocatur: Quo Britannorum conjuges nurusque 'toto corpore oblitæ, quibusdam in sacris & 'nudæ

nudæ incedunt, Æthiopum colorem imitantes. Chap. I.

If their Blue was of as deep a Dye as the *Æthiopian*'s Skin, it was very agreeable to ſuch Works of Darkneſs; and perhaps this might be done only in ſome Sorts of Sacrifices which requir'd Horror: But certainly their uſual Paintings were more Bright and Ornamental, and were rather Beautiful than Terrible; except when the Men were to fright their Enemies, or their Women were to gratifie that Black Fiend, who then tyranniz'd over them.

The poor *Britains* did not at that Time underſtand the Excellency of their Wooll, the beſt cloathing which the God of Nature has beſtow'd upon the World; this was given as a Protection from that Shame, which the Impurity of our corrupted State would expoſe us to: This was given to preſerve us from the Hardſhips of rigorous Seaſons, which, ſince the Loſs of *Paradiſe*, we juſtly ſuffer; and this might have been made an Ornament and Honour to thoſe that wore it: Upon this that lively Sky-colour, which their Wood furniſhed them with, had been well beſtow'd, as the *Bow dye* ſince adorns the moſt Heroick Soldiers, and is coveted by all the Nations of the Earth.

The laying theſe Colours upon their Bodies, and not upon Cloaths, ſeems to have been the Cauſe of their firſt Degeneracy; which broke in upon their Modeſty, then ruin'd their Chaſtity, and inclin'd them to expoſe their Nakedneſs. 'Tis the ſame now with thoſe that put a Cheat upon Nature, and lay that lively Red upon their Cheeks, which ſhines better in the Ornaments they wear: The Dye ſinks deeper than their Skin, and when the Mind is once proſtituted, the Body will not long remain Chaſte.

We

Chap. I. We see dismal Effects of the least Attempts upon the Constitutions of Nature: At first these colour'd Figures might appear Innocent, but afterwards they proved Allurements, and gave occasion to that most abominable Incest, which is detested by all the Nations of the World. *Cæsar* gives us a sad Description of it.

* *Cæsar de bell. Gall. lib. 5.*

* *Uxores habent deni duodeniq; inter se communes, & maximè fratres cum fratribus, & parentes cum liberis; sed, si qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, a quibus primùm virgines quæque ductæ sunt.* 'Ten and Twelve had 'Wives in common among them; chiefly Bro- 'thers with their Brothers, and Parents with 'their Children: But if any were Born of 'these, they were accounted their Children, by 'whom the Virgins were Married.

This turns a Family almost into the same thing as a Herd of Cattle: No Child knows its own Father, nor Father his own Child; there can be no Superiority or Order among them: The Sons become Rivals to their Father, and the Mother Prostitute to her Children; all the Endearments of Natural Affection are destroy'd, and the uncertain unhappy Progeny is so far from being a Pleasure, that it can be only a Burden to those who are tied to the Duties of Education.

But God does not give over Men to such vile Affections, till they have first dealt as ill with him, as they afterwards deal with themselves: When they forsake the Governour of Heaven and Earth, it is Just with him to let loose their Natural Consciences from the Observation of those Laws which were given for the Benefit of Mankind; and to suffer those Institutions to be lost which were a Relief to the Unhappi-

ness

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ness of our First Parents after their Fall. All the Earth was now corrupted with Idolatry, and therefore we may well expect to find it among the *Britains*, who were for so many Ages removed to those Parts of the World which lay furtheſt from their Great Ancestor, who was *the Preacher of Righteousness.*

We have no very Particular Account of their Idolatries, but only such as related to their Wars and Victories, which their Enemies had most reason to take Notice of. Their Goddess of Victory was *Andate*, whose Worship they perform'd with the cruel Sacrifices of their Captives. * In that terrible Success which *Boadicia* had over the *Romans*, the *Britains* sacrific'd in the Grove of *Andate* or *Andraste* the Prisoners Alive in a most Barbarous manner, as we find in *Xiphiline* out of *Dio.* Καὶ τᾶυτα πάντα Θύοντες τε αἷμα καὶ ἐσιώμενοι, ὑβρίζοντες, ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερῶν ἱερῶις, καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀνδάτης μαλιστα ἄλλως ἐποίουν. Οὕτω γὰρ τὴν νίκην ὠνόμαζον, καὶ σφισιν αὐτὴν περιττότατα. For her they call'd Victory, and worshipp'd her most exceedingly. *Xiphiline* in *Nero.*

* *Camd. Brit. Iceni*, p. 457.

They could never have fallen into such Vile and Cruel Idolatries, if their Reason had not stoop'd to Sensuality, and the Light of Nature been under the Tyranny of Lust and Passion. The whole World gave Evidence that there was a Being Superior to Man: And that this Being was one Wise Intelligent Mind, the Harmonious and Regular Motions of the Heavens bore Witness. The Sun, Moon, and Stars were Arguments which carry'd their own Light to Prove, that they have one Supreme Governour, because they never Interfere: That they are always shining and cherishing the Earth demonstrates

Chap. I. ſtrates the Goodneſs of their Maker; The Ra
from Heaven, and the Fruitful Seaſons at on
convince and oblige us to own the Love of G
to Mankind. So that to ſet up a Cruel Wo
ſhip is a Contradiction to the Divine Natur
and to Defile it with Senſual Debauchery is
moſt Unreaſonable Offering of the Corrupt a
Brutiſh Part of Man, to him that is a Pure a
Infinite Spirit.

The *Britains* were not without theſe Witne
ſes, but after Man was alienated from God, h
gave him up to his own Imaginations; eve
petty Benefactor was taken for a Deity, a
over all the Enemy of Mankind became t
Head of the Rebellion. This Malicious Spi
made his Worſhip to be only the Propagati
of Cruelty and Debauchery; which is not
be ſo much wondred at here, ſince his Succe
was ſo great, that even near the Fountain
Piety, and Places of the greateſt Civility, h
drove the People into worſe Exceſſes th
were to be found among the moſt Barbaro
Britains. It was not ſo Unnatural to Sacrifi
Enemies, as it was to Burn their own Childr
for an Offering to their Idol: The Solemniti
of *Venus* and *Bellona* out-did any thing th
the *Romans* were able to Report of this Ne
diſcover'd Iſland.

But this was the darkeſt Age that *Br*
tain ever ſaw: The Time was juſt now co
ing * *that* Japhet *was to Dwell in the Te*
of Shem: The Church was to be enlarg
and to take not only *Britain*, but the wh
World within its Circuit. In order to th
the *Romans* came over, and brought Learning
the *Phoſphorus* of Religion: *Julius Cæſar* ma
the Diſcovery, and under his Succeſſor *Auguſt*
w

* Gen. 9. 27.

as Christ Born. His Apoſtles came ſoon after
ascended into Heaven, and advanced the
eſſed Goſpel through all the Dominions of the
mpire, as St. *Paul* did in *Britain.* He is the
ue and beſt *Britain* who Eſpouſes the Reli-
on and Learning that then prevail'd, which
e the beſt that ever were in the World: But
fore theſe prevail'd we are obliged, in purſuing
e Originals of thoſe who have inhabited here,
ſpeak of thoſe that would not be brought
ſubmit either to the *Empire* or the *Church.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Picts.

THE *Britains* and *Picts* were really the ſame People, to be diſtinguiſhed only by their Name, (which yet had the ſame Signification) and by ſome other Circumſtances, which in no wiſe alter'd their Original from being the ſame.

* Camden's Picts, p. 115.

This was the Opinion of our Great * *Engliſh* Antiquary, which he gives us in theſe Words: *I would think that the* Picts *came from no other place at all, but were very natural* Britains, *I mean, and no other; who before the coming in of the* Romans *were ſeated in the North Part of the Iſland, and thoſe who afterwards (caſting off the Yoke of Bondage, as they are a Nation moſt impatient of Servility) repair'd to theſe in the North.*

He proves at large, that their Cuſtoms, Manners and Language were the ſame: * *That neither the* Picts, *according to* Beda, *nor the* Britains, *as* Tacitus *writeth, made any Diſtinction of Sex for Government in chief, or excluded Women from bearing the Scepter.*

* *Ibid.*

The Cuſtom of painting and ſtaining themſelves with Colours was common to both Nations. He cites the Teſtimony of *Claudian.*

——*Nec falſo nomine Pictos*
Edomuit——

Which

Which he thus renders:

The Picts *he tam'd,*
So truly nam'd.

And again,

——*Ferroq; notatas*
Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras.

He view'd the Figures when the *Picts* were (ſlain,
Which cut with Iron after Death remain.

Theſe were the People which fled before the conquering *Romans*; and though they were not particularly diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Picts*, till they were driven into the *North*, and Chriſtianity began to prevail, yet their Hiſtory ought here to be ſet down: Becauſe the Conqueſt of this Iſland was the firſt Diſcovery of them, and their continual Wars brought them to be a diſtinct Nation.

We cannot have a more Judicious Author than *Cornelius Tacitus*, who had the greateſt Opportunity of being acquainted with our *Britiſh* Affairs, and therefore it may be worth the while to tranſlate his Account of them. Immediately before he makes his Relation, he premiſes that he had Married the Daughter of *Julius Agricola* when he was *Conſul*; that preſently after his Father-in law had born that high Dignity, he had the Government of *Britain* committed to him: This made him capable of giving us the beſt Information that the World did then afford; and he thus gives it us in the moſt Judicious manner. 'I

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* *Tacit. de Vit. Agric. Cap. 10, &c.*

* 'I would not now make a Relation of 'the Situation and People of *Britain*, which 'have been set forth by many Writers, as if 'I design'd to vie with their Care and Inge- 'nuity, but because at this time it was first 'brought into Subjection: And therefore what 'before, not being sufficiently known, was 'dress'd up with Eloquence, shall now be deli- 'ver'd with a faithful Reality.

'*Britain*, of all the Islands which are as 'yet come to the Knowledge of the *Romans*, is 'the greatest. The East Part of it lyes against '*Germany*, the West faces *Spain*, the South 'looks towards *Gaul*; the Northern Shores have 'no Land over against them, but are beat by a 'vast and open Sea.

'As to the Figure of the whole Island of '*Britain*, *Livius*, the most Eloquent Writer of 'the Ancients, and *Fabius Rusticus* of the Mo- 'derns, have compared it to an Oblong Shield, 'or a Two edged Ax: And this is the Shape * Scotland. 'of it about * *Caledonia*, from whence Fame 'might apply it to the whole. But an immense 'and vast Space of Ground running on to the 'utmost Shoar, it terminates in the Form of a 'Wedge.

''Twas at this time that the *Roman* Fleet 'sail'd about this Shoar of the furthermost Sea, 'and affirm'd that *Britain* was an Island: That 'they discover'd and subdued the *Orcades*, Is- 'lands that were before unknown. *Thule* was 'also then first found out, as it lay cover'd 'with Snow, and hid by Winter.

'But what Mortals did first inhabit *Britain*, 'such as had an Original Being there, or came 'over from other Parts, cannot well be known, 'since *Barbarians* can give us no Information.

'The

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'The Stature and Complexion of their Bodies 'are different, which is all from whence we can 'pretend to argue. The red Hair and great 'Limbs of those that inhabit * *Caledonia* de- 'note them to be a *German* Off-spring. The 'colour'd Faces, and, for the most part, curl'd 'Hair of the *Silures**, and their Situation oppo- 'site to *Spain*, make us believe, that the old *I- 'beri* pass'd over, and possess'd those Countries. 'Those that are nearest the * *Galli* are like 'those People; either the Power of their Ori- 'gination continuing, or that the same Position 'of the Heavens produces the same Habit of Bo- 'dy, however the Earth be extended: When 'all has been consider'd, 'tis most credible that 'the * *Galli* took Possession of the Neighbour- 'ing Soil.

* Scotland.

* South-Wales.

* France.

* *Those who anciently inhabited* France.

'Their Holy Rites are according to the Super- 'stitious Perswasions of the *Galli:* Their Lan- 'guage is very little different: They have 'both the same Rashness in running upon Dangers, and the same Dread how they may escape when they are fallen into them. But their Difference at present is, that the *Britains* have more of Fierceness, as having not been yet softned by a long Peace; whereas we have an Account that the *Galli* were once Glorious in their Wars, but Sloth came together with Peace; so that at the same time they lost both their Liberty and their Valour: Which has happened also to the *Britains*, who have been a good while conquer'd; the rest continue the same as the Ancient *Galli* were.

'Their Strength lyes in their Foot Soldiers: Some of them go to War with Chariots; the Driver is most honourable, his Vassals fight about him. Anciently they obey'd Kings, now

Chap. II. 'by their Princes they are drawn into Factions
'and Animosities. Nor is there any thing more
'profitable to us in subduing the most Valiant
'Nations, than that they do not consult together
'for the Publick Good: 'Tis very seldom that
'Two or Three Cities join in defending themselves
'from a Common Danger; whence it comes to
'pass that whilst they fight singly, they are all
'overcome.

'The Heaven is much clouded, and sends
'down frequent Showers; they have little
'sharp Cold. The length of their Days exceeds
'ours in this Part of the World: The Night is
'clear, and in the furthermost part of *Britain* so
'short, there is a very small Interval between
'the ending and beginning of the Light. If the
'Clouds don't hinder, the Sunshine may be
'seen in all the Nocturnal Hours, insomuch
'that 'tis affirmed the Sun does not rise and
'set, but pass by them. The plain Country does
'not suffer them to be cover'd with Night,
'which falls below their Heaven and Stars.

'Their Soil is fruitful, bears Corn, and every
'thing else but Oil and Wine, and what requires
'a hot Climate. Their Grain quickly comes
'up, but ripens slowly: There is the same
'Cause of both, the Wetness which proceeds
'from the Heaven and the Earth. *Britain* af-
'fords Gold and Silver, and other Metals, the
'Price of Victory: The Ocean also brings
'forth *Pearl*, but dim and faint. Some think
'that those who gather them up want Art:
'In the Red Sea they are torn from the Stones,
'whilst in a manner they live and breathe, but
'in *Britain* they are only pickt up when they
'have been thrown off: However it be, I am
'apt to believe that Nature will sooner be defi-
'cient

'cient in Pearl, than we be without Covetouſ- Chap. II.
'neſs.

'The *Britains* themſelves very readily endure 'raiſing of Soldiers, Tribute, and other Duties 'of the Empire, if there be no Injuries commit- 'ted: Of theſe they are very impatient, being 'but lately ſubdued, ſo as to become Subjects, 'not Slaves.

'Therefore when *Divus Julius*, firſt of all 'the *Romans*, entred *Britain* with an Army, al- 'though in a ſucceſsful Fight he terrified the 'Inhabitants, and poſſeſs'd their Shores; yet he 'ſeems rather to have diſcover'd it to Poſteri- 'ty, than to have added it to our Dominions. 'Then followed the Civil Wars, the Arms of 'our Princes being turn'd againſt the Common- 'wealth it ſelf: And even in the time of 'Peace was *Britain* a great while forgot. *Di- 'vus Auguſtus* ſaid it was good Policy to let it 'alone; much more was *Tiberius* of that Opi- 'nion. It is certain *Caius Cæſar* talk'd of en- 'tring into *Britain*, but being too fickle, and all 'his Mighty Preparations againſt *Germany* com- 'ing to nothing, he was diverted. *Divus 'Claudius* did the Work, ſending over the Le- 'gions and Auxiliary Forces: He had the Aſſi- 'ſtance of *Veſpaſian* in this Expedition, which 'was the beginning of his riſing Fortune. Na- 'tions were ſubdued, Kings captivated, and *Veſ- 'paſian* appear'd to be the Darling of Fate.

'*Aulus Plautius* was the firſt of Conſular 'Dignity, who commanded in this Iſland: Then '*Oſtorius Scapula*; both great Soldiers. The 'hither Part of *Britain* being reduc'd by little 'and little into the Form of a Province, a Colo- 'ny of Veterans was ſent over. Some Cities 'were given to King *Cogidunus*, who conti-

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'nued moſt faithful, even to the time of our 'Remembrance. It was an Ancient Cuſtom of 'the *Roman* People to make even Kings the 'Inſtruments of Servitude.

'Next *Didius Gallus* ſucceeded, who main- 'tain'd what had been got by former Prefects: 'He alſo made ſome ſmall Advances by Build- 'ing a few Caſtles in the Territories of the 'Enemy; by this he ſought the Reputation of 'enlarging his Dominion. *Veranius* was his 'Succeſſor, but died within a Year.

'After him *Suetonius Paulinus* managed the 'Affairs of *Britain* proſperouſly, ſubduing the 'Nations, and ſtrengthening the Garriſons: 'Hence he got ſuch an Aſſurance, that he ſet 'upon the Iſle of *Angleſey*, as ſending Aſſiſtance 'to thoſe that rebell'd: But by this he laid 'himſelf open to thoſe Enemies which he had 'left behind him.

'For the *Britains*, having laid aſide their 'Fear, now the Lieutenant of the Province was 'abſent, began to confer among themſelves a- 'bout the Miſeries of Servitude, to relate their 'Injuries, and by giving every thing an ill 'Turn to enflame one another's Minds. Pati- 'ence (ſay they) does nothing, but encourages 'the laying on of greater Burdens, now the pre- 'ſent were ſo eaſily endured.

'Inſtead of One King, we have now Two ſet over us: The Lieutenant exhauſts our Blood, 'and the Procurator our Goods. 'Tis all one 'whether they agree or diſagree, they are 'both ways deſtructive to thoſe that are ſub- 'ject to them; one purſues us with Military, 'the other with Civil Executions: Nothing is 'exempted from their Luſt, nothing from their 'Covetouſneſs: In War he that ſpoils muſt be

'the

'the moſt valiant; but now our Houſes are ta- Chap. II.
'ken from us, our Children carried away, our
'Youth liſted for Foreign Wars, and that for
'the moſt part by the ſlothful and unwarlike;
'as if we were ignorant only of this one thing,
'how to die for our Country; for how many
'of our Soldiers ſhould we find have paſs'd
'over Sea, if the *Britains* ſhould number them-
'ſelves?

'*Germany* has ſhaken off the Yoke, though
'it was defended only by a River, and not by
'the Ocean. We have our Country, our Wives,
'our deareſt Relations to fight for; they have
'no Cauſe to make War, but Avarice and Lu-
'xury. They will leave us as *Divus Julius* did,
'if we do but imitate the Vertues of our An-
'ceſtors, and not ſuffer our ſelves to be terrifi-
'ed with the Loſs of One or Two Battles.
'There is always greater Force, and greater
'Conſtancy, among the Miſerable.

'The Gods of the *Britains* ſeem now to ſhew
'their Mercy in the preſent Opportunity:
'They have drawn away the *Roman* General,
'and keep the Army, as it were baniſh'd into
'another Iſland. We are now enter'd into a
'Deliberation, which is the firſt and greateſt
'Difficulty; for it is much more dangerous to
'be found out Hatching ſuch Deſigns, than to
'put them in Execution.

'By theſe and the like Inſtigations they
'ſtirr'd up one another: *Voadica* of the Royal Race
'was their Female General, (for they make no
'Diſtinction of Sex in their Government)
'they univerſally betook themſelves to War,
'ſeizing upon the Soldiers that were ſcatter'd
'up and down in the Caſtles, ſtorm'd the Gar-
'riſons, ſet upon the Colony it ſelf, which they

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'look'd upon as the Seat of Servitude. The 'Rage and Victory of the Barbarians omitted 'no Sort of Cruelty: Insomuch that if *Paulinus* had not had speedy Information of the 'Commotion of the Province, and presently 'succour'd it, *Britain* had been lost. But the 'Fortune of one Battle restor'd it to its former 'Patient Subjection: Tho' many being conscious 'of their great Crime in revolting, and having 'a Particular Dread of the Lieutenants, stood 'to their Arms.

'*Paulinus* was very Glorious in all his Actions, excepting his Arrogance towards those 'that surrendred themselves; he proceeded severely against them, as if he reveng'd his own 'Private Injuries. Therefore *Petronius Turpilianus* was sent, as one that was more Exorable: 'He came as a New Man, unprovok'd by the 'Outrage of the Enemy, and so more ready to 'Pardon them upon Repentance. Having compos'd Affairs, he did nothing more but deliver up the Province to his Successor *Trebellius Maximus*.

'*Trebellius* being Unactive, and not Experienc'd in the Affairs of the Camp, manag'd the 'Province by a Debonair Compliance. The 'Barbarians began to be Patient, and to have 'a Kindness for those Vices that flatter'd them; 'And the incident of the Civil Wars gave a 'just Excuse to this Way of Management. But 'by such Sloth, the Soldiers, which had been continually exercised by Expeditions, grew Wanton, and fell into Discord. *Trebellius* was 'glad to hide himself from the Fury and Tumults of the Army; wanting the Spirit and 'Majesty of a Governour, he Rul'd only precariously among them: There was a kind of

Com-

'Compact between the General and the Army; 'one might be Licentious if the other might 'but be Safe: These Disorders were without 'Bloodshed. Chap. II.

'Nor did *Vectius Bolanus*, whilst the Civil 'Wars continued, manage *Britain* with any 'Discipline; there was the same Unactiveness 'towards the Enemies, and the same Disorder 'within the Camp: But in this *Bolanus* ex-'cell'd, that he was Innocent, and Hated for 'no Crimes, so that he gain'd a Love which 'serv'd him instead of an Authority.

'But when, with the rest of the World, '*Vespatian* had recover'd *Britain*, the Great 'Captains, the Excellent Armies, which then 'appear'd, quash'd the Hopes of the Enemy. '*Petilius Cerealis* presently struck a Terrour in-'to them, by setting upon the * City of the '*Brigantes*, which is said to be the most Nu 'merous of all the Province. There were ma-'ny Battles, and some of them very Bloody: 'He either by Victory, or a continual War, kept a 'great Part of that Country under his Obedience. '*Cerealis* acquitted himself so well, that he 'seem'd to have forestall'd the Care and Repu-'tation of a Successor; yet *Julius Frontinus*, 'as Great a Man as the Times would suffer him 'to be, sustain'd a Weight of Affairs: He sub-'dued that Strong and Warlike Nation of the '* *Silures*, where he struggled not only with 'the Valour of the Enemy, but with the Diffi-'culties of their Inaccessible Mountains.

* *The Inhabitants of* Yorkshire.

* South-Wales.

'This was the State of *Britain*, such were 'the Turns of War when *Agricola* at Midsum-'mer came over into this Island: The Soldiers 'thinking his Expedition laid aside, were fallen 'into an idle Security; and the Enemy was ta-

Chap. II.

'king Advantage of the Opportunity: A little be-
'fore his Arrival the City of the * *Ordovices* had
'almoſt wholly deſtroy'd a Squadron that was
'quarter'd in their Territories. This begin-
'ning rais'd the Province to an Expectation,
'what ſuch an Example might produce, and
'what the Reſolutions of the New Lieutenant
'would be.

* *The People of North-Wales.*

'Then *Agricola*, though the Summer was
'almoſt ſpent, the Forces ſcatter'd up and
'down in the Province, and the Soldiers pre-
'ſum'd upon Reſt for that Year, (which made
'many think that they being backward and un-
'willing to begin a War, he would only guard
'the ſuſpected Places) yet he reſolv'd to go
'out, and meet the preſent Danger.

'He draws the Legions together, brings ſome
'Auxiliaries to join them; and becauſe the
'* *Ordovices* durſt not come down into the plain
'Country, he himſelf went before the Bri-
'gade to raiſe the Courage of the Army,
'that when their Dangers were alike, their Va-
'lour might be the ſame.

* North-Wales.

'He cut off almoſt the whole Nation, and
'being ſenſible that it was very Advantageous
'to puſh on Fame, that as the firſt Enter-
'prizes ſucceed, all the reſt is like to be,
'he reſolves to reduce the Iſle of *Angleſey* into his
'Power; from which, by the Rebellion of all
'*Britain* (as has been ſaid) *Paulinus* was re-
'call'd.

'Whilſt it was very much doubted how
'they ſhould Tranſport their Forces, ſince they
'had no Ships, the Contrivance and Reſoluti-
'on of the General found out a Way. Laying
'aſide their Baggage, he preſently order'd ſome
'choſen Auxiliaries, who had been us'd to
'Swim-

Swimming in their own Country, and were able to manage themſelves, their Arms and Horſes, in the Water, to enter thoſe Fords which were known to them. The Enemies were amaz'd at this; they look'd upon the Sea, and thought there muſt be Fleets and Tranſports, or there could be no coming at them: At laſt they came to be of Opinion that nothing was Difficult or Invincible to thoſe that made War at ſuch a Rate. Chap. II.

'A Peace was preſently Entreated for, and the Iſland Surrendred: *Agricola* gain'd the Reputation of a Great and Glorious General; for when he entred upon the Province, he did not ſpend his Time like others, in boaſting of his Grandeur, and receiving Compliments, but Labour and Danger ſeem'd to be his Delight. Nor would *Agricola* make any Oſtentation of his Proſperity: He would not allow the Name of Victory, or ſo much as an Expedition to be given to an Undertaking, which was only to keep thoſe in Obedience that had been once conquer'd. He did not deſire that his Conqueſts ſhould be Crown'd with Laurels, but encreas'd his Fame by ſuppreſſing it: Whilſt the World had great Expectations of what he would do hereafter, who did not take Notice of thoſe great Things which he had already done.

'*Agricola* was well acquainted with the Genius of the Province, and had learn'd, by obſerving the Experiments of his Predeceſſors, that Arms would not be long Succeſsful, if they were attended by Injuries: He reſolves therefore to cut off the Occaſions of War. He began with himſelf and his Family, and firſt ſet his own Houſe in good Order; which is

'often

Chap. II.

'often more Difficult than to Govern a Pro
'vince: He committed none of the Publick
'Affairs to his Gentlemen and Servants: He
'did not chuſe by Parties, nor take Soldiers
'meerly upon the Entreaties and Recommenda-
'tion of their Officers, but did aſſure himſelf
'that the beſt Men would be moſt Faithful. He
'knew every thing that was Amiſs, though he
'did not think fit to Puniſh all: He would
'Pardon ſmall Faults, and ſize his Severity to
'the greateſt: He was more pleas'd with Re-
'pentance than Puniſhment: He ſtudied more
'to Oblige by his Management, his People not
'to commit an Offence, than to condemn it
'when it was committed.

'He ſoftned the Augmentation of Contributi-
'ons and Tribute by the Equality of Taxing
'by cutting off the Extortions of Private Gain
'which were more grievous than the Tribute
'it ſelf. For the Officers would Inſolently ſhut
'up the Barns, and then ſend the Provincials to
'Buy Grain where they could get it, and when
'it was Bought, they would compel them to
'Sell it again at their own Price. They were
'wont to ſend them into far Countries, and
'make them take long Journeys, that the Ci-
'ties which were neareſt the Winter Quar-
'ters ſhould furniſh thoſe Parts which were
'more Remote and Unknown; ſo that what
'might have been Eaſie to every one, became
'Profitable only to a few. Theſe Things he
'rectified in the Firſt Year, and gave a great
'Reputation to Peace; which by the Negligen-
'cies and Permiſſions of former Governors had
'been more dreadful than War.

'When Summer was come, he drew his
'Army together; and in a Publick Audience
'of

of the Soldiers commended the Obedient, and reſtrain'd the Diſorderly. He himſelf choſe out the Places for the Camps, ſounded every Ford, and ſearch'd every Wood. He left the Enemy no Reſting-place, that he might not be liable to their ſudden Excurſions; and when he had ſufficiently terrified them, he ſhew'd them the flattering Face of Peace. Inſomuch that many Cities, which till that Time had ſtood upon even Terms, gave Hoſtages, and reconcil'd themſelves: Which were ſo ſurrounded with Guards and Garriſons, preſerv'd with ſuch Care and Diſcretion, that never did any Part of *Britain* before come over with leſs Provocations. The following Winter was ſpent in moſt Profitable Councils: And therefore becauſe Rude, Unciviliz'd, People are moſt eaſily ſtirr'd up to War, they were drawn by Pleaſures to love Reſt and Peace. There were Private Inſtructions, and Publick Aſſiſtance given them, for Building Houſes, Market-places, Temples: The forward were encouraged, the backward were chaſtis'd: So that at laſt the Emulation for Honour ſerv'd inſtead of Neceſſity. Chap. II.

'Now the Sons of the Nobility were Bred up in the Liberal Arts: And the Genius of the *Britains* preferr'd before the Inclinations of the *Galli*: Inſomuch that thoſe who lately refus'd the *Roman* Language, now became Studious of their Eloquence. Then they came to Honour our Habits, and frequently put on the Gown. By degrees they ſlid into the Allurements of Vice, the *Portico's*, and *Baths*, and the Curioſities of our Banquets. Their ſhallow Underſtanding of theſe Things made them Eſteem that to be Humanity, which indeed was only a Part of their Servitude.

'The

Chap. II.

'The Third Year of his Expeditions lai
'open to him New Nations; having waſte
'all, as far as the * Bay of *Taus*. The En
'mies were ſo terrified, that though our Arm
'had ſuffer'd much by Cruel Tempeſts, ye
'they durſt not Provoke us. We had Leiſu
'to Build Caſtles, and the Skilful obſerv'd, tha
'no other General more wiſely choſe the mo
'Opportune Places for them: No Caſtle Buil
'by *Agricola* was either taken by Storm, Su
'rendred or Deſerted. They made frequen
'Salleys, and were provided with a whol
'Year's Store, that they might ſuſtain th
'longeſt Siege. Thus the Winter was ſpen
'without Fear, and every Place was a ſuffici
'ent Guard to it ſelf: The Enemies mad
'their Attempts in Vain, and at laſt deſpair'd
'They had been wont to Recompence thei
'Summers Loſſes by their Winters Gains
'but now they were driven further off in on
'Seaſon as well as in the other. Nor wa
'*Agricola* ever ſo Covetous of Fame as to In
'tercept the Glory of thoſe Actions which o
'thers had Perform'd: Every Colonel an
'Captain might be ſure to have him a Sin
'cere Witneſs of what he had done. He wa
'ſaid by ſome to incline to Severity when h
'met with Miſdemeanours, but he was a
'kind to thoſe that did Well, as angry wit
'thoſe that did Amiſs. Nor did his Ange
'continue long: His Silence, and his Secre
'were not to be feared, ſince he counted i
'more Honeſt to Diſoblige than to Hat
'The Fourth Summer was ſpent in ſecurin
'thoſe Places which he had over-run: An
'if the Valour of our Armies, and the Glo
'ry of the *Roman* Name, would have permit
'ted

* *About a Mile broad between* Durham *and* York-ſhire.

ted, the Boundary had been found in *Britain* it self. † For *Flota* and *Bodotria*, Two Bays which enter a vaſt Way into the Land, both from the Eaſtern and the Weſtern Sea, and which were divided but by a ſmall Neck of Land, were then held with ſtrong Garriſons: All the hither Part was in our Poſſeſſion, and the Enemies puſh'd as it were into another Iſland. Chap. II.

† *The Frith of Edenburg and Dunbritton.*

'In the Fifth Year of his Expeditions, he firſt made uſe of a Fleet, which gave him the Opportunity, by many and proſperous Engagements, to ſubdue thoſe Nations, which till that Time were unknown: In that Part chiefly where *Britain* looks upon *Ireland*. Here he placed ſome Forces, rather for future Deſigns, than any preſent Fear.

'*Ireland* is ſituated in the midſt between *Britain* and *Spain*: Commodious for the *Gallick* Sea, and might make the ſtrongeſt Parts of the Empire very uſeful to one another. Its Compaſs is leſs than that of *Britain*, yet greater than any of the Iſlands of our Sea. The Soil, the Climate, the Cuſtoms and Genius of the People, are very little different from thoſe of *Britain*. The Ports and Landing-places may be eaſily known from thoſe that Trade and Merchandize thither. *Agricola* entertain'd a Petty Prince of that Country, who had been driven from thence by ſome Domeſtick Sedition: He Treated him as a Friend, but his Deſign was to make uſe of him, when Occaſion ſhould ſerve. I have often heard him ſay, that *Ireland* might be Conquer'd and kept by one Legion, and a few Auxiliaries, which would be very Advantageous with Reſpect to *Britain*; for if the *Roman* Arms prevail'd every-

'where

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'where, even the *Prospect* of Liberty would 'be taken out of their Sight.

'At the beginning of the Summer, in the Sixth 'Year of his Government, because a Commoti- 'on of all the Nations beyond * *Bodotria* '(where there was a very considerable City) 'was Apprehended, and the Passes were beset 'with an Hostile Army, He resolves to acquaint 'himself with the Sea-coasts and Havens by 'means of his Fleet. *Agricola* was the first that 'managed his Ships so as to Assist his Land Ar- 'my: They kept one another Company, and 'made a Glorious Appearance: Sea and Land 'together drove on the War with a double 'Force. In the same Camp you should have 'the Horse and Foot, and the Seamen and Ma- 'rines, entertaining one another with a mixt Joy, 'whilst each related his own Actions and 'Adventures. One describ'd the height of the 'Woods and Mountains, another set forth the 'depth of the Seas, and the fury of the Tem- 'pests: The subduing the Enemies Country, and 'the enlarging a Dominion over the Ocean, were 'set in a Glorious Competition.

'The Sight of the Fleet (as we learn'd from 'the Prisoners) struck the utmost Terrour into 'the *Britains*: As if now that the Secrets of 'the Sea were laid open, the conquer'd were 'depriv'd of their last Refuge. At this all the 'Inhabitants of * *Caledonia* run to Arms: The 'Preparation was great, but the Report much 'greater than the Reality, as is usual when 'things are not well known. They began to 'make Incursions, and Storm our Castles; that 'their forwardness might create a Fear in us. 'And indeed those that were Timerous, under 'a Pretence of Prudence, advis'd that we should retire

* Edenburgh Frith.

* Scotland.

retire to this ſide of * *Bodotria*: It being much better to go of our own accord, than to be driven. Chap. II.

* Edenburgh Frith.

'*Agricola* knew well enough that the Enemies would divide themſelves into Parties; and therefore that we might not lye under any Diſadvantage by their better Acquaintance with the Place, and a Superior Number, which they might upon Occaſion get together, he alſo divided his Army, and march'd in Three diſtinct Brigades.

'This being underſtood by the Enemies, they chang'd their Counſel, and altogether in one Body ſet upon the Ninth Legion as the weakeſt; they march'd by Night, ſurpriz'd and ſlew the Centry, broke in among the Soldiers, which were half Aſleep, and in a Pannick Fear. The Fight was begun within the Camp, when *Agricola* was inform'd by his Scouts of the March of the Enemy; he follows their Track, and Commands the moſt Expeditious of his Horſe and Foot to fall upon their Backs as they were fighting; then, that the whole Army ſhould give a Shout. By break of Day the *Roman* Enſigns appear'd. The *Britains* were terrified, being engaged in a double Battle; our Men reſum'd their Courage: They did not doubt their Safety, and only fought for Glory. They puſh'd on, and broke in: There was a ſharp Diſpute in the narrow Entrances to the Camp, till the Enemies were beaten; one Part of our Men ſtrove to bring Help to the reſt, and the other that they might not ſeem to want it. Unleſs the Moraſſes and the Woods had cover'd the Fugitives that Victory had finiſh'd the War.

'This

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Scotland.

¶This Success and Glory put a fierceness into
'the Army; they cried out that every thing was
'open to their Valour, * *Caledonia* must be
'pierc'd quite through, and by a continued
'Course of Battles they must see the utmost
'Bounds of *Britain*. Those that before were
'Cautious and Wise, now that the Business was
'over, talk'd as high as any; which is the hard
'Fate of War, that every one claims a Share in
'Prosperous Events, but the Unfortunate are
'imputed to one.

'However, the *Britains* were not at all sunk
'in their Arrogance; they would not believe that
'they had been overcome by Valour, but by a
'Surprize, and the Stratagems of the General.
'They therefore Arm all their fencible Men,
'carry their Wives and Children into Places of
'Safety, strengthen the Conspiracies of their
'Cities by Solemn Meetings and Sacrifices. At
'that Time both Armies parted with enraged
'Minds.

* *About* Zutphen.

'This Summer a Cohort of the * *Usipii* being
'listed in *Germany*, to be Transported into *Bri-*
'*tain*, ventur'd upon a Bold and Memorable At-
'tempt. Having Slain their Centurion, and
'those Soldiers which were mixt among them,
'to Govern them and Instruct them in the Dis-
'cipline of War, they compell'd the Masters of
'Three light Ships to take them Abroad: One
'of these steering back again, they suspected
'the Two other, and kill'd them. The Story
'being not known, their Proceedings were
'look'd upon as Miraculous. They were tost'd
'up and down, had many Skirmishes with the
'*Britains*, who defended their own Coasts;
'they often got the better, and were often beat:
'At last they were reduced to such Want, that
they

'they eat up the weakeſt of their Men, and 'then came to drawing Lots. Being carried 'about *Britain*, and loſing their Ships for want 'of Skill to manage them, they were taken 'up as Pirates, firſt by the * *Sucvi*, and then 'by the *Friſii*. They were Sold in the Way of 'Trade from one to another, at length by the 'Change of Maſters they were brought to our 'Coaſts, and made a full Relation of their 'whole Adventure.

* *People upon the Coaſts of* Low-Germany.

'In the beginning of the Summer *Agricola* was 'wounded with a Domeſtick Affliction: He loſt 'his Son, which was Born the Year before. In 'this Misfortune he made no Pompous Shew, 'which ſome great Men affect, nor did he ex-'preſs himſelf with a Womaniſh Sorrow, but 'went on with the War as a Remedy and Di-'verſion from his Grief.

'He ſent his Fleet before him, which made 'Spoil in ſeveral Places, diſtracted and ſtruck 'Terror into the Enemy: He followed with an 'expedite Army, to which he added ſome of 'the moſt Valiant *Britains* (of whoſe Fidelity 'a long Peace had aſſur'd him) and came to 'Mount * *Grampius*, upon which the Enemies 'were ſet down. For the *Britains*, not broken with 'the Loſs of the former Battle, but expecting Re-'venge or Servitude; and having at laſt learn-'ed that the common Danger was to be guard-'ed againſt by a common Conſent, had by their 'Embaſſies and Leagues call'd out the Forces of 'all their Cities. They were now above Thir-'ty Thouſand ſtrong: And not only the Youth 'continually flock'd to them, but all thoſe 'whom Old Age had not yet dried up, who had 'been Famous in War, and every one of them 'was able to tell ſome of his own Exploits.

* Granzebaine *in* Scotland.

'Among many Captains *Galgacus*, most Eminent for his Valour and Nobility, thus spoke to the Multitude, which was got together, and demanded Battle.

'*When I consider the Causes of this War, and our Necessity to maintain it, I am greatly encouraged and perswaded, that this Day, and this your Concord, will give a beginning to the Liberty of all* Britain. *As yet we are all free from Servitude; but neither Sea nor Land can give us any further Security: For all is now surrounded by the* Roman *Navy. Arms and War, which are desired by the Valiant, are now the only Safety of the Timerous.*

'*In former Fights, when the* Britains *engag'd the* Romans *with various Fortune, there was still some Hope and Help left in us; who, as the most Noble Inhabitants of the Isle, were placed in the most secret Recesses: We did not so much as behold the Shores of those that were subdued, our very Eyes were freed from the Contagion of Servitude: We are the last to whom our Country and Liberty are still left: Fame has hid us in her Bosom as a secret Treasure: But now the Bounds of* Britain *are laid open; which, while unknown, were only the Object of Wonder. There is no Nation beyond us, nothing but Rocks and Waves; and the* Romans *are got within us, whose Pride we shall in vain seek to appease by an obsequious Submission. These are the Ravagers of the World: When there was no more of the Continent for them to lay waste, they rifle the Seas. If an Enemy be rich, they are covetous: If he be poor, they are ambitious; they cannot be satiated either by the East or West: They alone covet all Countries with the same boundless Desires; neither Po-*

'*verty*

'verty nor Riches will ſecure from their At- Chap. II.
'tempts.

'They give the falſe Name of Empire to Plun-
'derings, Murders and Rapines: When they have
'turn'd a Country into a Deſart, they ſay there's
'Peace. Nature has made our Children and
'Relations moſt dear to us, theſe they liſt for
'Foreign Service: If our Wives and Siſters eſ-
'cape their hoſtile Luſt, yet are they after-
'wards debauch'd under the Pretences of Friend-
'ſhip and Entertainment. Our Goods and E-
'ſtates muſt be taken away for Tribute, our Corn
'for the Annual Proviſion; our Bodies and
'Hands muſt be worn out in ſecuring the Bogs
'and Woods; this muſt be endur'd with Blows
'and Reproaches. Creatures Born for Slavery
'are Sold but once, and then Maintain'd at the
'Charge of their Maſters; Britain does every
'Day Buy, and every Day Feed its own Servitude.
'And as in a Family the laſt Slave is a Sport to
'the reſt, ſo in this Old Family of the World,
'we, as the laſt and vileſt, are ſought out for
'Deſtruction. For here are no fertile Fields, or
'Mines, or Havens, in which we may be employ'd.
'Again, the Valour and Fierceneſs, for which
'we have been Eminent, will make us be de-
'voted to Ruin by the Conquerors: The fur-
'ther off a Country lyes, and the more difficult
'of Acceſs, the more is it ſubject to the Suſpi-
'cions of thoſe that command. All Hope of Mer-
'cy is gone, take Courage then, if either Safety
'or Glory be dear to you. The * Brigantes un-
'der the leading of a Woman burnt their Colo-
'ny, ſtorm'd their Camp; and if their Felicity
'had not been followed by Negligence, they had
'utterly ſhook off the Yoke. We are at preſent
'unconquer'd, unbroken, our Liberty was never

* Trinobantes, Middleſex, &c.

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'yet *raviſh'd from us*; *let us therefore ſhew in* 'this firſt Engagement what Sort of Men * Ca- 'ledonia *has reſerv'd to its ſelf.*

* Scotland.

Do you think that the Romans *Valour is as* 'great in War, *as their proud Wantonneſs in* 'Peace? *They have hitherto prevail'd by our* 'Diſcords and Separations: *What was got by* 'our Fault they attribute to the Glory of their 'Army; *which heap'd together out of ſeveral* 'Nations *is preſerv'd by a continued Succeſs,* 'but would crumble in pieces upon the leaſt 'Diſaſter. *Unleſs you can imagine that the* 'Galli, *the* Germans, *and thoſe* Britains *(whom* 'I am aſham'd to mention) *who ſhed their Blood* 'to raiſe the Domination of others, *and who* 'have been much longer their Enemies than 'their Servants, can be now poſſeſs'd with a Fi- 'delity and Affection to them. Fear and Ter- 'ror are very weak Bonds for an Union: Take 'away theſe, and you will find, that ſo ſoon as 'they ceaſe to fear, they will begin to hate.

'All the Incitements of Victory are for us: 'The Romans have no Wives here to enflame 'them, no Parents to upbraid their Cowardice: 'Their Auxiliaries either know not what Coun- 'try to pretend to, or at leaſt it is not this: 'They are but few in Number, and timerous by 'their Ignorance where they are: They look 'about upon the Heavens, the Seas, the Woods; 'theſe are all unknown: The Gods have in a 'manner deliver'd them Priſoners, and bound 'into our Hands.

'Don't be frighten'd at their gawdy Shew; 'the Glittering of Gold and Silver neither de- 'fends nor wounds. We ſhall find help in the 'Enemies own Army; the Britains will under- 'ſtand their own Cauſe; the Galli will be mind-

'ful

'ful of their former Liberty; the rest of the Germans will desert, as the * Usipii did of late.

'Nor have we any thing more to fear: Their Castles are empty, their Colonies fill'd with decrepit Old Men; their free Towns, what between those that ill command, and those that ill obey, are now in a languishing and broken Condition.

'Here you have your General, your Army: There you may see the Tributes, the Mines, and other Punishments of Slavery: This Field must determine your Fate, whether you will presently be reveng'd, or for ever undergo those Miseries. And now as you march to engage, think both upon your Ancestors and Posterity.

'The *Britains* receiv'd this Oration with a great deal of Joy; after the manner of *Barbarians*, they sung, they hollow'd, and vented themselves in confused Shouts. The most daring advanc'd first, the Troops got together, and the Field glitter'd with their Arms: The Armies were drawn up in Battalia. And though *Argicola* saw the Soldiers so forward, that they would hardly stay for his Orders, yet he thought fit to give them some lasting Impressions by this following Speech.

''Tis now, *Fellow-Soldiers*, the Eighth Year, 'since by the victorious Fortune of the Roman 'Empire, as also by your Labour and Fidelity, 'you have been Conquerors in Britain. There 'have been many Expeditions and Battles, 'wherein you have shew'd your Courage against 'the Enemy; with an indefatigable Patience you 'have overcome all those Difficulties, which 'even Nature laid in your Way: And hitherto 'the General has never complain'd of his Sol-

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* A People of Low-Germany.

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'diers, nor the Soldiers of their General. Till 'at last I have so far outgone the Measures 'of former Prefects, and you the Marches of 'former Armies, that we now, not by Fame and 'Report, but with our Arms and Camps, possess 'the Bounds of Britain. Britain is now discover'd and subdued. I remember how as you 'march'd over the Bogs, and Mountains, and 'Rivers, I heard each Valiant Soldier crying 'out, But when shall we meet with the Enemy? 'When will the Day of Battle come? They are 'now driven out of their Lurking holes: Your 'Wishes have their Accomplishment, and your 'Valour has them before you. All Things con'cur to the Advantage of the Victorious; but if 'you are overcome, you will find every thing 'turn as much to our Disadvantage.

'You have passed over so great a Tract of 'Ground, got through so many Woods, passed 'the swelling Floods; all this is Brave and 'Glorious whilst you are before them: But what 'to Day is prosperous will be most dangerous 'if you fly. We have not such a Knowledge of 'the Country as they; nor have we such an 'abundance of Provisions; but we have Hands 'and Weapons, and in these all Things.

'As to my self, I have been always of the 'Opinion, that neither a General nor an Army 'can be safe if ever they turn their Backs. 'Undoubtedly an honourable Death is to be pre'ferr'd before an ignominious Life. Safety and 'Honour stand close together; and it will be 'a particular Glory, if we do fall, to lye where 'Nature and the World have an end.

'If you were to meet with any new Nations, 'or an unknown Army, I would excite your 'Courage by the Example of other Armies: Now

'you

'*you need but remember your former Atchieve*
'*ments, and ask your own Eyes, whether these*
'*be not the Men which you have formerly con-*
'*quer'd. These are they who last Year stole up-*
'*on one of our Legions, but run away when*
'*they heard us shout: These indeed are the*
'*most Fugitive of all the* Britains, *and that is the*
'*only Reason why they continued so long. When*
'*we pass the Woods and the Forests the stoutest*
'*Creatures must be subdued by Force, but the*
'*timerous and weak are driven away by the ve-*
'*ry Noise of Passengers. Thus the fiercest of*
'*the* Britains *have fallen before us, the Remain-*
'*der consists only of the Cowardly and Slothful.*

'*You have now found them: Not that they*
'*staid for you, but were at last overtaken: They*
'*stand, fixed with Fear, in this Place, where you*
'*may have a compleat and glorious Victory. Count*
'*up your Expeditions, add one great Day to your*
'*Fifty Years: Let the Commonwealth see that*
'*this Army neither spun out the War, nor sought*
'*so that there might be need of fighting again.*

'Whilst *Agricola* was speaking the Eagerness
'of the Soldiers appear'd: They could hardly
'stay till he had made an end of his Oration,
'but presently every one betook himself to
'his Arms. Thus enflamed and crouding on,
'he dispos'd of them in the following manner.
'He strengthen'd the middle of his Army with
'Eight Thousand Auxiliary Foot, Three Thou-
'sand Horse were placed in the Wings: The
'Legions stood in Reserve to defend them. If
'the Victory could have been obtain'd without
'their Help, the sparing *Roman* Blood would
'have been a great Grace to it; if it could not,
'they might help as Occasion requir'd.

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'The Army of the *Britains* ſtood upon a 'riſing Ground, to make the greater Shew 'and Terror; the firſt Battalion was placed in 'the Plain, but the reſt were join'd to it, and 'ſtood gradually, riſing with the Hill; whilſt 'the Charioteers and the Horſe fill'd the mid-'dle of the Field with Excurſions and Noiſe.

'*Agricola* fearing leſt the Enemy, being ſu-'perior in Number, ſhould not only engage 'the Front of his Army, but at the ſame time 'Attack him in the Flank, ſtretch'd his Ranks 'further out; tho' ſome advis'd that his Army 'ſhould be made longer, and the Legions taken 'in. But he inclin'd more to favour his Hope, as 'he was ſtiff againſt Fear. He alighted from 'his Horſe, and ſtood afoot before his Standard.

'They firſt fought at a Diſtance: The *Britains* 'had both Conſtancy and Skill at their Weapons: 'They were arm'd with huge long Swords and 'ſhort Bucklers: They knew well how to avoid 'our Darts, and to ſhake them off, and at the ſame 'time to pour down a Shower of Arrows upon us: 'Till *Agricola* made Three Cohorts of the * *Ba-*'*tavi*, and Two of the * *Tungri* advance, that 'they might engage Hand to Hand with their 'Swords Point. This, by being accuſtom'd to 'War, they were well able to do; and this 'the *Britains* were not able to bear, having 'long Swords and ſhort Shields. Their Swords 'having no Points, could not diſpatch a grap-'pling Enemy, nor could they endure a Fight 'wherein they are laid open to his Thruſt. 'The *Batavi* therefore getting within them, 'puſhing them with their Shields, and ſtab-'bing them in the Face, defeated thoſe that 'ſtood in the Plain, and made them draw their 'Army upon the Hills. The reſt of the Co-

'horts

* *A People of the* Lower Germany.

horts coming on with Emulation and Fury, slaughter'd all they met with, though in the haste of Victory many were left half dead, and others not wounded at all. Chap. II.

'In the mean time their Troops of Horse fled, their Charioteers were embarrass'd in the Battle of the Foot: And though they had struck a present Terror into our Men, yet they were stopt by the Thickness of our Ranks, and the Unevenness of the Ground: It was not like the fighting of Troops of Horse; those that stood above to guide the Chariots were overturn'd, together with the Horses they drove, by the Violence of the Foot.

'They were frighten'd, and run about the Field for the most part without any Drivers; and, as Fear carried them, sometimes they fell upon the Front, sometimes upon the Flank of their own Men.

'The *Britains* upon the Tops of the Hills had not yet engag'd, and were at Leisure to despise the Smallness of our Numbers; but now by little and little they came down, and began to fall upon the Rear of the Conquerors. But *Agricola* foreseeing this, had reserv'd Four Troops of Horse for the Exigency of the Battle, and these he sent to meet them: The Carreer was fierce, and accordingly they were with the greatest Fierceness put to the Rout. Thus the Council of the *Britains* was turn'd to their own Destruction: And the Troops which before stood in the Front, were now, by the Command of the General, brought to fight the Forces that fled from them.

'The open Field of Battle yielded a terrible Prospect; you might see them pursuing, wounding, taking, killing their former Prisoners, when

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'when others were brought. You might
'the Enemy acting with a very different
'nius: Sometimes whole Troops of them, w
'armed, would run away from a very few th
'purſued them; others that had loſt their Arm
'would ruſh in, and offer themſelves to Deat
'There lay up and down Weapons, and Corp
'and diſmembred Limbs, the Ground was a
'over Gore. Here and there the Rage and Va
'lour of the conquer'd were viſible: After the
'drew near to their Woods, they got toge
'ther, and ſurrounded their cauteleſs Purſuer
'who were unacquainted with thoſe Places. An
'indeed if *Agricola* had not been everywhe
'preſent, to ſend in ſtrong and expedite Cohor
'for Diſcovery, to make the Horſemen alig
'where the Woods were thicker, and to po
'in the Troops where they were thin, too gre
'Aſſurance might at laſt have given us a dread
'ful Blow.

'But as ſoon as they ſaw us in a Body, an
'purſue in good Order, they then minded no
'thing but running away: They did not endea
'vour to get together, and guard one another
'but ſhunn'd a Croud, and ſingly ſought th
'fartheſt and moſt impaſſable Ways. Nigh
'and a Glut of Killing made an end of th
'Purſuit. There were ſlain Ten Thouſand o
'the Enemy: Our Loſs did not amount to abov
'Three Hundred and Forty: Among which th
'moſt conſiderable was *Aulus Atticus*, Prefe
'of a Cohort, who by his own Juvenile Hea
'and the Fierceneſs of his Horſe, was carri
'into the midſt of the Enemies.

'The Night did not only fill the Victors wit
'Joy, but put them into the Poſſeſſion of
'vaſt Booty. Whilſt the *Britains* wandred u
and

and down, the Men and Women joining together in a hideous Outcry: Some dragg'd the wounded after them, others fought their Friends who were escap'd: Some forsook their Houses, others in a Rage burnt 'em: They got into Lurking-holes, and presently run out of them again. They would sometimes consult together, and then begin to hope: Sometimes they sunk at the Sight of their Relations, but most commonly they were stirr'd up by a furious Rage; it is certain that some of them murder'd their Wives and Children in Pity to them.

'Next Day the Face of Victory more fully appear'd; There was everywhere a profound Silence, no Body stirring upon the Hills, Clouds of Smoke rising from the Houses afar off, not one to be met with by our Scouts. They were sent into all Parts, but the Footsteps of their Retreat were uncertain; and they brought us undoubted Intelligence that the Enemies were no where together in a Body. *Agricola* therefore, the Summer being now spent, and the War not likely to spread further, led his Army into the Borders of the * *Horesti*.

'Here he received Hostages, and commanded the Admiral to sail about *Britain*: He gave him sufficient Provision for the Voyage; He was strong enough, and besides the Terror of the *Romans* had everywhere gone before him. *Agricola* himself led back the Horse and Foot by easie Marches, that the Minds of the new-conquer'd Nations might be terrified, and come to a Settlement; since they saw their Conquerors at so much Leisure. Then was the Army dispos'd of in their Winter Quarters. The Fleet having a prosperous Voyage made the * *Trutulensian* Port; from whence coasting all that Shore

* Angusc *upon the* Tay, *in the Eastern Part of* Scotland. Camden.

* Rutupensis Sandwich.

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'Shore of *Britain*, which is neareſt us, they 'return'd.

This was the State of *Britain* from the firſt 'to the laſt of the Twelve *Cæſars*; and now 'this Brave General *Julius Agricola* ſoon fell 'under the Envy of his Capricious Emperor '*Domitian*; was recall'd from hence, ſent into 'the *Eaſt*, and died there, not without juſt Suſpi- 'cions of being poiſon'd.

Tacit. de Vit. Agric. *cap.* 43.

The ſucceeding Emperors never went any further than the Two great *Friths*, which make * *Caledonia* almoſt a diſtinct Iſland; and were glad if they could but reſtrain the remainders of the unconquer'd *Britains* within thoſe Bounds. This was the whole Dominion of the *Romans* in *Britain*, but this they were very hardly able to maintain. The Valiant *Britains* broke through and poured down into thoſe Southern Countries, which had ſo lately been their own. And tho' the Emperor *Adrian* came over hither himſelf in Perſon, * *Et murum per octoginta paſſuum millia primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanis divideret*, 'and firſt built a Wall of Fourſcore 'Miles, which might divide the *Barbarians* 'from the *Romans*, yet this was far ſhort of 'what had been acquir'd by *Agricola*. This gave up all the Country that lay between *Newcaſtle* and *Edinburgh*: For according to our great *Engliſh* † Geographer it was drawn from the Mouth of the *Tyne* to the River *Esk*. A certain Argument, that none but the greateſt Generals were able to deal with our *Britains*; nor they always, for the *Romans* very unwillingly parted with any Country, which had been once added to their Empire, eſpecially ſince it muſt put them to ſo much the more Trouble, as to Build

* Scotland.

* Spartian. Adrian. *cap.* 11.

† Camden Picts *Wall*, p. 790.

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a Wall twice as long to ſecure the diminiſh'd Dominion. Chap. II.

After *Adrian* came *Antoninus Pius*, the Excellency of whoſe Government raiſed the *Roman* Empire to a very great Height; by his Lieutenant *Lollius Urbicus*, * *Britannos vicit: Alio muro ceſpitio Submotis Barbaris ducto*, he overcame the *Britains*; and the *Barbarians* being further removed, he made another Wall of Turf. By this was all the Country as far North as *Edinburg* again recover'd; as † Mr. *Camden* proves by ſeveral Ancient Monuments: So that we have now the Old Bounds of *Agricola* new ſettled. But this laſted not long; for by the Diſſoluteneſs of the Empire under *Commodus*, the moſt Degenerate Son of that Excellent Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, the *Britains* enlarg'd their Territories, and ſo overflow'd the Country, that the Emperor *Severus* was ſent to by his Lieutenant to come over in Perſon: The Preſence of the Prince being neceſſary to reſtrain their Incurſions and Depopulation. * Δεῖσθαι βασιλικῆς ἐπισθημίας. But though he proceeded with his utmoſt Power and Policy, holding the *Britains* in Treaty till he had got all things ready, yet was he at laſt forc'd to be content with *Adrian*'s Wall, from *Carlile* to *Newcaſtle*; which † Mr. *Camden* alſo calls the Wall of the *Picts*.

* Capitolin. Antonin. Pius, *cap.* 5.

† *In Stirling Sheriffdom.*

*Herodian, *lib.* 3.

† *Map of* Northumberland.

The manner in which *Severus* made War upon them, gives us an Opportunity to know that they were certainly the ſame as the Old *Britains* in their unciviliz'd Condition; and we ſhall find by the Deſcription which * *Herodian* has left of them, that they very well deſerv'd the Name of *Picts*.

* *Lib.* 3.

Severus

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'*Severus* contriving Delays, that he might not
'return to *Rome* without doing something con-
'siderable, but deserve the Name of *Britanni-*
'*cus*, sends back the Embassadors, who came to
'entreat for Peace, without yeilding in the least to
'their Desires: He in the mean time makes Pro-
'vision of all things necessary for the War. His
'greatest Care was to make the Morasses passa-
'ble for his Army; to which Purpose he pro-
'vided Bridges, and such Conveniencies that
'the Soldiers might easily march over them,
'and might have sure footing when they fought
'the Enemy.

'For many Places of *Britain* are wash'd by
'the flux and reflux of the Ocean, which causes
'great Store of Lakes and Fens among them:
'In these the *Barbarians* swim, or easily run
'about: They will plunge up to the Middle,
'and most Part of their Bodies being naked,
'they despise the Mud.

'They know not the use of Cloaths, but
'Adorn their Wastes and Necks with Rings of
'Iron: These they esteem both their Orna-
'ments and their Riches, and have the same
'Opinion of them as other *Barbarians* have of
'Gold. They also Stigmatize their Bodies with
'the cut Images of all Sorts of living Crea-
'tures; and therefore they will not Cover them-
'selves with Cloaths, lest they should hide the
'Pictures of the Body. Τὰ δὲ σώματα σίζουσι
'γραφαῖς, ποικίλων ζώων παντοδαπῶν εἰκόσιν
'ὅθεν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀμφιέννυνται, ἵνα μὴ στέπωσι τὰ σώματα
'τὰς γραφάς. They are most Warlike and
'Bloody; they are only armed with a Narrow
'Shield and Lance, having a Sword hanging
'down by their naked Body: They do not think
'an Head-piece and a Breast-plate useful, because
they

they would be an Hindrance to them in running over the Bogs: By the Thick Steams whereof the Heavens are often clouded, and the Air darkned.

Thus we have the Deſcription of the *Picts* nd their Country; but as for the Name of *icts*, it did not come to be uſed in the World ill an Hundred Years after the time of *Seve-us*, * Mr. *Camden* ſays, 'That for a long time they were no otherwiſe known than by the name of *Britains*, and that by reaſon of their depainted Bodies: So afterwards, about the time of *Maximian* and *Diocleſian*, (neither before that find we the Name of *Picts* in any Writers) when *Britain* had ſo long been a Province, that the Inhabitants had learned the Provincial *Latin* Tongue, then (as it ſeemeth) began they to be called *Picts*, for Diſtinction ſake, that they might be known from them that were Confederate with the *Romans*, and called *Britains*.

* Picts, *pag.* 116.

'† Biſhop *Stillingfleet* informs us that, The firſt Mention we find of them is in *Eumenius* his Panegyrick to *Conſtantius*, where he takes Notice of the Different State of the *Britains*, when *Cæſar* ſubdued them from what they were in *Conſtantius*'s time: *Then*, ſaith he, *they were a rude, half-naked People, and ſo eaſily vanquiſhed: But now the Britains were exercis'd by the Arms of the* Picts *and the* Iriſh.

† *Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches*, c. 5. p. 241.

But this learned Author will by no Means be f Mr. *Camden*'s Opinion, that the *Picts* were nly the unciviliz'd unreduced *Britains*. He herefore adds, that 'nothing can be plainer, than that *Eumenius* here Diſtinguiſhes the *Picts* from the *Britains*, and ſuppoſes them

to

Chap. II. ‘ to be Enemies to each other. Neither can
‘ we reasonably think this a Name then taken
‘ up to distinguish the Barbarous *Britains* from
‘ the Provincial: For that Distinction had
‘ now been of a very long standing; and if it had
‘ been applied to that purpose, we should have
‘ met with it in *Tacitus*, or *Dio*, or *Herodian*,
‘ or *Zosimus*, who speak of the extraprovin-
‘ cial *Britains* under no other Name but of
‘ *Britains*.

* The Foundation of this last Opinion is laid upon the Conjecture of *Tacitus*, in that Discourse of *Britain*, which has been at large recited. His Words are ‘ *Rutile Caledoniam Habitan-*
‘ *tium comæ magni artus, Germanicam originem*
‘ *asseverant. Silurum, colorati vultus, & torti*
‘ *plerumq; crines, & positu contra Hispaniam,*
‘ *Iberos vetere trajecisse easq; Sedes occupasse fi-*
‘ *dem faciunt.* The Golden Locks of those that
‘ inhabit *Caledonia*, and their great Limbs do
‘ assert their *German* Original: The colour'd
‘ Faces, and for the most part curl'd Hair of the
‘ *Silures*, and their Situation opposite to *Spain*,
‘ make us believe that the Old *Iberi* pass'd over
‘ and possess'd those Countries.

* *Antiquit. British Churches*, p. 247.

But after all, this Judicious Author *Tacitus* waves these Conjectural Arguments: Golden Locks, and great Limbs, tawny Faces, and curl'd Hair, are not the particular Character of any one Country; and therefore he adds, *In universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse, credibile est. If we consider all, 'tis Credible that the* Galli, *came and took possession of the neighbouring Soil.* And that from the nearest Part of the Continent, not from *Scandinavia*; for *Tacitus* look'd upon it as a Miracle that the *Usipii* should be preserv'd, who ventur'd out but

but upon the *German* Ocean. Though only those Persons who pass'd the Channel did Plant *Britain*, yet in the Process of many Ages they may well be suppos'd to have spread themselves into *Caledonia*. Chap. II.

Thus the *Caledonian Britains* may be those who both inhabited that Country when the *Romans* came over hither, and fled to it from their Victorious Arms. But it will not at all help us to the Reason, why Authors did not use the Denomination of *Picts*, that they were at first of *German* Original, if they came before *Julius Cæsar*: And if new Colonies came over to People the Country, after the terrible Devastation of it by the continuance of the *Roman* Wars, was not Learning at that Time Awake to give us Notice of the Transmigration of Nations? Would not the *Roman* Generals have complain'd that they had now a New Sort of People, the *Picts* to Fight with, and therefore they had need of greater Armies and stronger Walls to Defend that Country, which they were now tugging to Preserve? Such a profound Silence when there were so many Writers, and such great Occasion to mention the Affair, could not have possibly been, if there was any thing in it.

When there is a Flood of Learning, something will come in to Support an Hypothesis; *Virgil* mentions some *Picts* by the Name of * *Picti Agathyrsi*: *These* Olaus Rudbeck *Places in the* Sinus Codanus, *and being the Maritime Inhabitants of the* Baltick *Sea, they might from thence come into* Scotland. As a Foundation for this, *Pliny*, lib. 4. cap. 12. *among the* Scythians *reckons the* Agathyrsi.

* *Antiq. Brit. Church*, p. 248.

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Olaus Rudbeck may place the *Agathyrsi* in the *Baltick* or where he pleases, but all that *Pliny* says in the Place there quoted, is *Neuri apud quos Borysthenes, Geloni, Thussagetæ, Budini, Basilidæ, & cæruleo capillo Agathyrsi.* If *Rudbeck* be as far from being in the Right, as the *Borysthenes* is from the *Baltick*, and Blue-colour'd Hair differs from cutting and staining the Body, there will not be much got towards the Support of this Conjecture.

Learned Men are seldom carried off, but by some Prejudice which unhappily falls into their Thoughts; and this we may see in the present Case. † *I grant that* Tacitus, Dio, Herodian, Vopiscus, *&c. take no Notice of any other Enemies the* Romans *had at that Time in those Parts, besides the* Britains, *but then I think the Argument may be turned upon* Camden; *what makes the later Writers so expressly and distinctly mention the* Picts, *if they were no other than the Old* Britains, *so often spoken of by the* Roman *Historians? I do not understand why their continuing an Old Custom should now give them a New Name? The* Britains, *however Rude, were no more* Picts *then, than they were at Cæsar's coming. What makes the* Roman *Writers so of a sudden alter their Stile, and leave off a Name so Famous among the* Romans, *for the Name of* Picts, *which was not heard of before?*

† *Antiq. Brit.* p. 240.

But there is good Reason to remove this Prejudice; and it may be easily done by a little further Consideration, that the Name of *Picts* came first into Use just at the Time when Christianity came to be the prevailing Religion of the Empire; and then we may well think that the *British* Christians had a greater Aversion to their Old Countrymen for their Idolatry and Lewdness,

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neſs, than they had before for their Enmity againſt the *Romans*: By this Time the Commanders of their Armies, and the Body of their Forces, were generally Chriſtians; and though the Heathen took no great Notice of thoſe Crimes, and Abominable Rites, which they themſelves were guilty of, yet under *Conſtantius Chlorus* and *Conſtantine* theſe had another Sort of Aſpect. So that 'tis no Wonder if under theſe Pious Princes the *Britains* begun to diſtinguiſh themſelves from thoſe who were ſo contrary to them, both in Religion and Intereſt: Eſpecially with regard to their Paintings, which were wholly laid aſide by themſelves, but ſtill continued among the *Caledonians*, as the Source both of their Sacred and Domeſtick Fornications.

We may be beſt ſatisfied by taking the Account from that very Great Man Arch-biſhop *Uſher*, who does not only tell us when the Name of *Picts* was firſt us'd, but that the *Caledonians* themſelves were *Picts*.

† 'It is to be obſerv'd, that as a little before 'we find the firſt mention made of the *Scotiſh* 'Nations by *Porphyry* the Philoſopher, ſo now 'that of the Name of *Picts* by *Eumenius* the 'Rhetorician. He in his Panegyrick to *Conſtantius* '*Cæſar*, comparing the State of the *Britiſh* Af'fairs, as they ſtood in the Time of *Carauſius*, 'and in the Time of *Julius Cæſar*, thus ex'preſſes himſelf with Reſpect to the Time of '*Julius*. *As to this, the Nation was then Bar'barous, only* Britains, *accuſtom'd to no other* 'Enemies *but* Picts *and* Iriſh; *half naked, and* 'who *eaſily yielded to the* Roman *Arms and En'ſigns: So that* Cæſar *could Glory almoſt only in* 'this, *that he had ſail'd upon the Ocean.*

† *De Brit. Eccleſ. Prim.* p. 586.

Chap. II.

'But as to the Expedition of *Constantius* a-
'gainst the *Caledonians*, undertaken a little be-
'fore his Death, Discoursing of it in another
'Panegyrick to *Constantine* the Great, his Son,
'he has these Words. *He, having perform'd so*
'*many and so great Actions, did not, I say, vouch-*
'*safe to acquire the Woods and Marshes of the*
'Caledonians *and other* Picts, *nor the Neigh-*
'*bouring* Ireland, *nor the uttermost* Thule, *nor*
'*(if there be any such) the Islands of the For-*
'*tunate: But (that which he would discover to*
'*none) being about to go to the Gods, he beheld*
'*the Ocean, that Father of the Gods, and Che-*
'*risher of the fiery Stars of Heaven.* In which
'Place he reckons the *Caledonians* among the
'*Picts*, for he intimates, that besides them there
'were other *Picts*, which were the *Vecturions*.

'*Ammianus Marcellinus* is our Author for
'dividing them into Two Nations, *Dicalidoni-*
'*ans* and *Vecturions*: A Foot-step of the former
'Name is still retain'd in the Episcopal See of
'*Dunkeld*, which placed upon the Border of
'the *Caledonian* Wood, got its Name very a-
'greeable to its Situation. For as *Buchanan* ob-
'serves, *Calden* signifies that Tree among the
'*Scots* which is called *Corylus* by the La-
'tins. Though *Camden* had rather derive the
'Name of the *Caledonians* from *Caled*, which
'among the *Britains* denoted *Hard*.

Ammianus Marcellinus flourished under the Emperor *Gratian* and *Valentinian* in the Year 375, by which Time the *Picts* might be divided into *Dicalidonians* and *Vecturions*; but which of them Dwelt to the Right-hand, and which to the Left, * though much canvass'd, does not at all Affect their Original. The *Vecturions* might be those who fled out of *South Britain*

* Stilling. *Antiq. Brit. Chur.* p. 241.

tain to them, and the *Dicalidonians* have their Name from the Neighbouring Ocean. Venerable *Bede* was much later, and Dedicates his Hiſtory to *Ceolwulph*, King of *Northumberland*, which he finiſh'd in the Year 731; and therefore can give no good Account whence the *Picts* of Old had their Original, ſince all the Authors before him were Silent: What he Relates as the Tradition of the Common People, we ſhall hereafter find to be a very great Miſtake. It is certain the Old *Caledonians* were Painted, as the Old *Britains* were, and the ſame People, by *Agricola*'s Speech to his Soldiers. *They might ask their own Eyes whether they were not the Men which they had formerly Conquer'd.* Chap. II.

Thus much we are aſſured of by certain Hiſtory, that when the *Romans* firſt came over into this Iſland the Inhabitants were generally in a very Rude and Barbarous Condition; thoſe that fled from them continued *Picts*, which were at laſt ſhut up in *Caledonia*: The Unhappy Ambition of Liberty kept them under the real Servitude of Vice and Ignorance. Thus were they Strangers and Enemies to the Provincial *Britains* all the Time of the *Roman* Empire, and afterwards the Saxons contending for the ſame Territories, which the *Romans* and *Britains* had enjoy'd, the Wars continued with the ſame People in the ſame Place, by ſtretching the Kingdom of *Northumberland* to the *Friths* of *Edenburgh* and *Dunbritton*. By this Contention, which laſted ſo many Ages, it comes to paſs that we have not much of the Blood of the *Picts* in our Veins.

Beſides the Name of *Britain*, and that of *Calidonia*, whereby the Northen Part of it was

Chap. II.

called, this Island went also Anciently by the Name of *Albion*, whereof a very Pleasant Modern Author gives us this Account. † 'It was 'Anciently called *Albion*, which seems to have 'been softned from *Alpion*, the Word *Alp* in 'some of the Original Western Languages sig-'nifying generally very high Lands or Hills, as 'this Isle appears to those who approach it from 'the Continent.

† *Sir* W. Temple *Introduct. Engl. Hist.* p. 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Romans.

SO great were the Numbers of the *Romans*, which came over into *Britain*, they had ſuch a prevailing Intereſt here, and of ſo long a Continuance, that they may juſtly be reputed a very Conſiderable Part of the Inhabitants of this Iſland. This ſhould bring us to conſider their Original; but it is in vain to attempt any Account of it, ſince their own beſt Authors make an Excuſe for being Fabulous; and they never arriving at the true Knowledge of the Creation and Propagation of Mankind, their Relations muſt needs be unſatisfactory.

The Poetry, which Celebrated the *Trojan* War, was then ſo much admir'd in the World, that it was taken inſtead of Divine Revelation; from hence they drew the Fictions of their Gods, and from hence they derived the Original of Nations; which they were very well pleas'd with, as claiming the greateſt Honour and Authority: If we attend to them we muſt take up with this.

The *Roman* Hiſtorian thinks this a Sufficient Juſtification. 'Datur hæc venia Antiquitati, ut miſcendo humana Divinis, primordia urbium Auguſtiora faciat. Et, ſi cui populo licere oportet, conſecrare Origines ſuas, & ad Deos referre auctores; ea belli gloria eſt Populo Romano: Ut quum ſuum, Conditoriſq; ſui parentem, Martem potiſſimum ferat, tam & hoc gentes humanæ patiantur æquo animo, quàm imperium patiuntur. Antiquity muſt Liv. *Lib.* 1. *Præf.*

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'be pardon'd, if to make the Rise of Cities more 'August, she presumes upon a mixture of Di- 'vine and Humane Affairs. And, if it was law- 'ful for any People to Consecrate their Origi- 'nals, and claim the Gods for their Progeni- 'tors, the Glory of War allows this to 'the People of *Rome*: That when they 'chiefly make *Mars* the Parent of their Foun- 'der and Nation, all People may patient- 'ly submit to this, as they do to their Em- 'pire.

* Liv. *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 1.

After this our Historians proceeds: That *Troy* being taken, *Eneas* and his wandring Company came into *Italy*, where they met with King *Latinus* and the *Aborigines*, who demanded what Sort of Mortals they were. Hearing that they were *Trojans*, and that their Leader was *Eneas*, the Son of *Anchises* and *Venus*, they commiserated their Condition, admir'd their Nobility, and enter'd into a firm Friendship with them.

But 'tis much more extravagant in our *British* Authors to be fond of an Imaginary *Brutus*, the Son of *Silvius*, and he of *Ascanius*, whose Father was *Eneas*; that so they might bring a *Trojan* Crew into this Island, and find out the Name of it. The Fiction is coarse and tedious, which sends *Brutus* out of *Italy* into *Greece*, and so to *Troy*, to deliver his Forefathers Countrymen: Then 'tis supposed that he does Exploits in *Africa*, and returns to *Italy* again; where having found a Race of *Trojans*, who came thither with *Antenor*, whose Chief Commander at that time was *Corineus*, he joins them, and perswading them to be the Companions of his Fortunes, they together pass the Streights of *Hercules*, and cast

aſt Anchor upon the Shores of *Aquitain:* Chap. III.
Going up the *Loire*, and engaging the Inhabi-
ants, *Brutus* loſt his Valiant Nephew *Touron*,
whoſe Aſhes being left in that Place, gave
Name to the City of *Tours*.

This unfortunate Enterprize turn'd him to-
wards *Britain*, which was then only inhabited
by *Giants*, who had deſtroy'd all the reſt of
the People. Theſe *Brutus* overcame, and from
his own Name call'd the Iſland *Britain:*
He had Three Sons, *Locrine*, *Camber*, and
Albanact: The firſt had the Middle Part call'd
from him *Loegria*, the other Two gave Names
to *Cambria*, now *Wales*, and *Albany*, now *Scot-
land.*

Who ſees not that this is a meer Invention
to find out People from whence the Names of
Places might be deriv'd? Like that of *Scota*, the
Daughter of *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt*, (who
was Drowned in the Red Sea) Married to *Ga-
thelus*, King of *Athens:* This Prince, accor-
ding to the *Scotiſh* Antiquaries being reſolv'd to
Ramble, and came into *Portugal*, which was
from him call'd *Portus Gatheli*, (as has been
lately obſerv'd by an Advocate for the Cauſe)
and from thence one Colony of that Race
tranſported it ſelf into *Ireland*, and another
into *Scotland:* The laſt of which gave Name
to the Country. This Opinion is ſtill main-
tain'd by thoſe who eſteem Forged Antiqui-
ties, however fooliſh, more than Real Truth and
Learning.

But we will not contend with thoſe that
think fit to uphold the Divine Original of the
Romans from *Troy*, that of the *Britains* from
the Conquerors of Giants, that of the *Scots*
from the Learned *Athenians*, and Ancient *Egyp-
tians*;

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tians; it is enough for us to Maintain that we are near Akin to the Old *Romans*, when they were in their Imperial Glory; and more Akin to them after they had embraced Christianity, which is a greater Advantage than to be Allied to all the Monarchs upon the Face of the Earth.

As to our Original, the World generally acquits us from being a Poor People, destroy'd by Giants; nor does the Phancy of such *Aborigines*, as the *Pagans* concluded the first Inhabitants of Countries to be, (a Sort of Men sprung like Mushrooms out of Earth) much prevail: But we may further Maintain, that the Native *Britains* were not altogether so Barbarous and Unciviliz'd, as is commonly imagin'd.

What they were *Julius Cæsar* is able to give us the best Account, who first came over hither with a design to make a Conquest of the Island, and in order to it inform'd himself of as much as he could possibly learn from their next Neighbours, who traded with them, what was the Condition of the People. He was as Excellent for his Pen as for his Sword, and therefore his Relation deserves to be recited; which being done at large, 'twill the better direct us what to think of them.

Cæsar de bell. Gall. *Lib.* 4.

'When *Cæsar* had spent Eighteen Days beyond the *Rhine*, and thought he had done enough for his Honour and Advantage, he return'd into *Gaul*, and broke down the Bridge. There was but a little Part of the Summer remaining; yet *Cæsar* (though in those Parts of *Gaul*, which lye to the North the Winter comes on very early) resolv'd to go over into *Britain*; because, almost in all the *Gallick* Wars. He understood

ſtood that Auxiliary Forces were ſent from thence to our Enemies. And though the time of making War was as good as ſpent, yet he thought it might be of great Advantage to him if he did but go to the Iſland; if he did but acquaint himſelf what Sort of Men they were, and came to the Knowledge of Places, Ports, and Avenues. All which were very little known to the *Galli*: For there is ſcarce any that go to them beſides Merchants; who know nothing but the Sea-coaſts, and thoſe Countries which lye over againſt *Gaul*. He call'd the Merchants to him from all Parts, but could not be inform'd, either how big the Iſland was, or what and how great Nations inhabited it; what were their Cuſtoms, or the moſt convenient Havens, to receive a Fleet of great Ships. To know theſe things, before he ventur'd himſelf, he thought fit to ſend *C. Voluſenus* in a Galley, with this Inſtruction, that having got the beſt Information he could he ſhould return to him as ſoon as poſſible. He himſelf went with all his Forces into the Country of the * *Morini*, becauſe from thence was the ſhorteſt Cut into *Britain*. Here he Commands all the Ships that were near to be got together, and that Navy which he had provided the Summer before, for the War with the *Veneti*.

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* *The People of* Flanders *and* Picardy.

* Vennes *in* Armorica.

'In the mean time his Deſign being known, and diſcover'd to the *Britains* by the Merchants, Ambaſſadors came to him from many Cities of the Iſland, who promiſed to give Hoſtages, and to be Obedient to the Empire of the *Roman* People. Having heard them, he made Liberal Promiſes, and exhorted them

'to

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* *The People of* Artois.

'to continue stedfast in that Mind. He sent 'them home, and with them *Comius*, whom upon the Conquest of the *Atrebates* he had 'made King, whose Valour and Prudence he 'was well assur'd of; whom he esteem'd most 'Faithful to himself, and whose Authority was 'of great Account in those Parts. He orders 'him to go to as many Cities as he could, 'and perswade them to be Faithful to the *Roman* 'People; and that he should let them know 'Cæsar would soon be with them. *Volusenus* 'having taken the best View of the Country 'he could, not daring to Venture out of his 'Ship, and commit himself to the *Barbarians*, 'return'd to *Cæsar* the Fifth Day: What 'he had discover'd he relates to him.

'Whilst *Cesar* tarried in these Parts to get 'his Fleet ready, Ambassadors came to him 'from most of the * *Morini*, and excus'd 'themselves for their Designs last Year: That 'the People were Barbarous and unacquainted 'with our Customs, and therefore had engaged 'in War against the *Romans*; but now they 'promise to perform every thing that should be 'requir'd of them. This *Cæsar* thought fell 'out very Opportunely, because he was unwilling to leave an Enemy behind his Back, 'nor was it time of Year to begin a War with 'them; besides, that he was more bent upon '*Britain* than these small Affairs. He commanded therefore that a great Number of 'Hostages should be given; and when they 'were brought, he took the Country into his 'Alliance.

* *People of* Flanders.

'Having got together Fourscore Ships of 'Burden, and as many others as he thought 'sufficient to Transport Two Legions, he distributed

buted all the Gallies he had to the *Queſtor*, *Lieutenants* and *Prefects*. Beſides theſe there were Eighteen Ships of Burden, which were detain'd Eight Miles off by Contrary Winds, that they could not come into the ſame Port: Theſe he order'd for the Horſe. The reſt of the Army he committed to his Lieutenants *Q. Titurius Sabinus*, and *L. Aurunculeius Cotta*, to be led into the Country of the * *Manapii*, and into thoſe Diſtricts of the *Morini*, who had ſent no Ambaſſadors to him. He commanded *P. Sulpicius*, with a Garriſon which he thought ſufficient, to keep the Port. Chap. III.

* *The People of* Geldres.

'Things being in this Readineſs, and a Gale favourable for Sailing, he put to Sea about Twelve a Clock at Night, having commanded the Horſe into the further Port, there to embark and follow him. They a little too ſlowly executed his Orders, but he himſelf touch'd upon *Britain* with the moſt forward Ship about Ten a Clock in the Morning: And thereupon all the Hills ſaw the Forces of the Enemy drawn up in *Battalia*. The Situation of the Place was ſo, that the Sea being ſhut in by the Steep Hills, the Darts might eaſily be flung from the higher Places upon the Shore. Here he did not at all think fit to Land, and therefore lay at Anchor till Three a Clock in the Afternoon, that the other Ships might come up to him. At this time he call'd a Council of his Lieutenants, and other Field Officers: He related to them all he had been inform'd of by *Voluſenus*; and then gives them an Account of what he thought fit to be done. He lets them know that the preſent State of the War, eſpecially the Maritime Affairs,

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'Affairs, requir'd that they ſhould make u
'of a quick and uncertain Motion; that ever
'thing muſt be managed as a ſudden Turn an
'Opportunity ſhould give them an Advantag
'Having diſmiſs'd his Council of War, bot
'Wind and Tide favouring him, he gave th
'Signal, and weighing Anchor, he ſail'd Eigh
'Miles from that Place, and brought his Ship
'to a plain and open Shore.

'The *Barbarians* underſtanding the Deſig
'of the *Romans*, firſt ſent their Horſe and th
'Chariots, which they are wont to make grea
'uſe of in their Wars, and then following with
'the reſt of their Forces, hindred our Men
'from getting out of their Ships. This brought
'us into very great Difficulties: Our Ships
'were ſo Big that they could not Ride but in
'a deep Sea; the Soldiers did not know the
'Shores, were loaded with their heavy Arms:
'They were at once to Leap down from their
'Ships, to find Footing among the Waves, and
'to Fight the Enemies: Whilſt they either
'ſtood upon the dry Ground, or went but a
'little way into the Water, could eaſily move
'their Bodies, knew where to beſtow their
'Darts, and had Horſes accuſtom'd to the Ser-
'vice. Our Men were ſomething diſmay'd at
'this, they were altogether unacquainted with
'ſuch a Sort of Fighting, and did not go an
'with that Courage and Alacrity, which they
'were wont to ſhew in their Land Engage-
'ment. When *Cæſar* obſerv'd this, he com-
'manded his Gallies, which were a Sort of
'Ships wherewith the *Barbarians* were un-
'acquainted, and very quick in their Motion,
'to be ſeparated from the Ships of Burden, to
'row and place themſelves upon that Side,

where

where the Enemy lay open to them. That by their Slings, and Engines, and Arrows, they might aſſault, and drive them further off: Which was of great Advantage to us. For the *Barbarians* being amaz'd at the Shape of theſe Ships, the Motion of their Oars, and an unuſual Sort of Engines, were at a ſtand, and by little and little gave Back. Our Soldiers ſtill delaying, chiefly becauſe of the Deepneſs of the Sea, the Standard-bearer of the Tenth Legion having firſt pray'd to the Gods that his Attempt might have a Happy Succeſs, cried out, *Soldiers, Leap down, unleſs you will betray your Eagle to the Enemies: I am reſolv'd to perform my Duty to the Commonwealth, and my General.* Having ſaid this with a loud Voice, he jump'd out of the Ship, and bore up his *Eagle* to the Enemies. Then our Men exhorted one another not to ſuffer ſo great a Diſgrace, unanimouſly leapt out of the Ship after him. Some from the Firſt Ship followed theſe, and then thoſe that ſaw them out of the next came on and engaged. The Encounter was very ſharp on both Sides: Our Men were in a great Diſorder, becauſe they could not ſtand faſt, and keep their Ranks; they could not get together under their proper Enſigns, but as they jumpt out of one Ship or another, run to the next. Whereas the Enemies knew the Depths of the Shores, and as they ſaw any getting out of their Ships, run upon them with their Horſe, one by one, as they found them encumbred: Many ſurrounded a few, and others from the open Coaſt threw their Darts upon all. Chap. III.

'So ſoon as *Cæſar* took notice of this, he commanded the Boats that belong'd to the Gal-

'lies,

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'lies, and the little Ships they kept for Scouts, 'to be filled with Soldiers, and as he saw any 'overpower'd, he sent in Relief to them. So 'soon as our Men stood upon the dry Ground, 'and were got all together, they bore hard 'upon the Enemies, and put them to flight; 'but could not pursue them very far, because 'the Horse did not sail with them, and were 'not yet arriv'd at the Island. This alone 'made *Cæsar* fall short of his former For-'tune.

'So soon as the Enemies had Lost the Battle, 'and were got together after their flight, 'they presently sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to 'treat of Peace: They promised to give 'Hostages, and to do whatsoever he command-'ed.

'*Comus* of *Arras* came along with these 'Ambassadors, who (as has been said) was 'sent by *Cæsar* into *Britain* before him: 'So soon as ever he was landed, and began 'to deliver to them the Commands of the Ge-'neral, they took him, and put him into Irons; 'but after the Battle set him free. That they 'might be more Successful in begging Peace, 'they cast the Fault upon the Mob, and en-'treated Pardon for their Imprudence. *Cæsar* 'complain'd, that when they had of their own 'accord sent Ambassadors to the Continent to 'Entreat him to grant them Peace, yet with-'out any Cause they had made War: He said 'it would be a Peice of Folly to Pardon them. 'He demanded Hostages: Part of them they 'gave presently, and the rest which were to 'come from the remote Countries, they said 'should be put into his Hands in a few Days. 'In the Mean time they commanded the Peo-'ple

'ple to return Home: The Princes came toge-
'ther from all Parts, and put themſelves and
'their Cities under the Protection of *Cæſar*.

'Peace being thus ſettled, Four Days after
'our Arrival in *Britain* the Eighteen Ships,
'(whereof we ſpoke before) which Tran-
'ſported the Horſe, quitted the upper Port
'with a gentle Gale. But when they came
'near the Coaſt of *Britain*, and might be
'ſeen from our Camp, ſuch a dreadful Tem-
'peſt ſuddenly roſe, that not one of them was
'able to keep on its Courſe. Some of them
'were driven back from whence they came,
'others with very great Danger were carried
'down to the Lower Part of the Iſland, that
'lyes more to the Weſt; which, caſting An-
'chor, were ſo fill'd with the Waves, that
'they were forc'd in a Stormy Night to get
'out into the Ocean, and return to the Con-
'tinent. It happen'd the ſame Night that the
'Moon was at full, which is wont to cauſe
'the greateſt Tides in the Ocean, though our
'People were unacquainted with it; inſo-
'much that at one time the Flood fill'd thoſe Gal-
'leys wherein *Cæſar* deſign'd to Tranſport his
'Army, being to that Purpoſe drawn up to the
'Shore; and the Tempeſt alſo ſhatter'd thoſe
'Ships of Burden which lay faſtned by their
'Anchors: Nor were our Men able to afford
'them any Help or Relief.

'Many of the Ships being broken, and the
'reſt become unſerviceable by the Loſs of their
'Ropes, Anchors, and other Rigging, it could
'not be otherwiſe than that the Army ſhould
'fall into a very great Diſturbance. There
'were no other Ships, by which they might
'be carried back; every thing was wanting

'where-

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‘ wherewith they ſhould have been refitted: ‘ Yet they all knew that it was neceſſary for ‘ them to Winter in *Gaul*; there was no Proviſion ‘ of Corn made in this Country againſt Winter.

‘ Theſe things being known, the Princes of ‘ *Britain*, who after the Battle were met together for performing thoſe things which *Cæſar* had commanded, began to confer with one another; that ſince they underſtood the *Romans* wanted Horſe, and Ships, and Corn, and that they had but a few Soldiers by the little extent of their Camp, (which was much the leſſer becauſe *Cæſar* had Tranſported the Legions without their Baggage,) they thought it beſt, by making a Rebellion, to reſtrain our People from Forraging, and draw out the War to Winter. They did aſſure themſelves, that if they could either Conquer them, or Cut off their Retreat, none would dare hereafter to come over and make War in *Britain*. So that making a Conſpiracy, they left their Camp by little and little, and began to draw together their People out of the Country.

‘ Though *Cæſar* had not yet come to the knowledge of their Deſigns, yet conſidering what had befallen his Ships, and that they delay'd in ſending in the Hoſtages, he ſuſpected that would come to paſs, which afterwards fell out. He provides Relief for all his Wants; he every Day brought Corn out of the Country into his Camp, and made uſe of the Braſs, and other Materials of the moſt diſabled Ships, to refit the reſt: He commanded alſo thoſe Things to be Tranſported from the Continent which were of moſt uſe

to

to him. All being perform'd by the utmoſt Diligence of the Soldiers, with the Loſs of Twelve Ships, he ſo repair'd the reſt, that they were in a readineſs to ſail. Chap. III.

'Whilſt he was thus buſied, the *Seventh Legion* went out to Forrage, nor to that time had there interven'd the leaſt Suſpicion of War; when Part of the People remain'd in the Fields, Part of them went up and down in the Camp; thoſe that ſtood Centinel brought News to *Cæſar*, that there was ſeen in that Place to which the Legion was gone, a greater Duſt than was wont to be raiſed. *Cæſar* ſuſpecting what the Matter was, that the *Barbarians* had entered upon New Councils, commanded the Cohorts which were upon the Guard to march with him that Way, and Two others to take their Places; the reſt to Arm, and follow him immediately. When he was not got far from the Camp he ſaw his own Men much preſs'd by the Enemy, and hardly able to ſuſtain the Shock; that the Legion ſtanding cloſe together was on every ſide gaul'd with Darts. For all the Corn being mow'd in other Parts, there was only that Place left, to which the Enemies ſuſpected they would reſort, and therefore hid themſelves there by Night in the Woods. When our Men had laid down their Arms, and were buſie in mowing, they ſet upon them of a ſuddain; a few they kill'd, and diſorder'd the reſt by their Horſe and Chariots.

'The manner of their *Chariot-fighting* is thus: Firſt, they ride up and down, and throw Darts; by the fierceneſs of their Horſes, and the rattling of the Wheels, they often diſorder the Ranks; when they have wound themſelves in

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'among the Squadrons, they leap from their 'Chariots, and fight on Foot. The Drivers with-'draw a little out of the Battle, and ſo place 'themſelves, that if the Charioteers be preſs'd 'upon too hard by the Multitude of their Ene-'mies, they may have a ſafe Retreat among 'their own People. So that in a Battle they 'have at once the quick Motion of the Horſe, 'and the Steadineſs of the Foot. By conſtant 'Uſe and Exerciſe they are ſo expert, that they 'are able to ſtop their Horſes not only when they 'run down hill, but upon a Precipice they pre-'ſently rule them, and give a ſudden turn. 'They will run along the Pole, ſtand upon the 'Harneſs, and then immediately be back again 'in the Chariot.

'Our Men being in a Diſorder by this No-'velty of fighting, *Cæſar* came in moſt oppor-'tunely to their Aſſiſtance. For ſo ſoon as the 'Enemies ſaw him they were at a ſtand, our Men 'took Heart; but *Cæſar* did not think it then 'a fit time to provoke the Enemy, and engage 'in a Battel; he only kept the Ground where 'he was, and after a little while led back the '*Legions* into their *Camp*. By this Means the 'reſt of our People, who were employ'd in the 'Country, had Opportunity to retire.

'Continual Tempeſts followed for ſeveral Days, 'which kept our Men in their Camp, and reſtrain'd 'the Enemies from fighting. In the mean time the '*Barbarians* ſent Meſſengers into all Parts, telling 'about how few Soldiers we had; they ſet forth 'how great a Booty might be got, and that an 'Opportunity was given that they might for ever 'enjoy their Liberty if they could but drive 'the *Romans* out of their Trenches. At this time

'there

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'there was presently rais'd a great Multitude of 'Horse and Foot, who came to their Camp.

'Though *Cæsar* knew the same would be a-'gain that had fallen out before, and that the 'Enemies, if they were beaten, would by their 'Celerity escape the Danger; yet having gotten 'some Horse, which *Comius* of *Arras* (who 'has been spoke of before) brought to him, 'he places himself and the Legions in Battalia 'before the Camp. The Fight being begun, 'the Enemies were not long able to bear the 'Force of our Soldiers, but fled, and our Men 'follow'd as far as they were able: They slew 'many of them, and having burnt all their 'Houses far and near, they return'd to their 'Camp.

'The same Day Ambassadors were sent by the 'Enemy to *Cæsar* to treat of Peace: He doubled 'the Number of Hostages which he had de-'manded before, and requir'd that they should 'be brought over to the Continent. Because the '*Equinox* was near, and he did not think it 'safe to sail in the Winter with such crazy 'Ships, he meeting with a fair Season, broke 'Ground about Midnight. All the Ships came 'safe to the Continent: Two of them, which 'were of Burden, could not make the same 'Ports the rest did, but were carried a little 'lower. Out of these, when about 300 Soldi-'ers were debark'd, and marching to their 'Camp, the * *Morini* (whom *Cæsar* at his 'Voyage to *Britain* had left in a State of Peace) 'being greedy of Plunder, surrounded them at 'first with no great Number, and declared that 'if they would not lay down their Arms they 'should be every Man of them put to the Sword; But they casting themselves into a

* *People of Flanders.*

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'Ring, ſtood upon their Defence: Soon after, 'upon an Outcry that was made, there came to-'gether about 6000 Men. When this was told 'Cæſar, he commanded all the Horſe out of the 'Camp to their Relief. In the mean time our 'Men ſuſtain'd the Force of the Enemy, and 'Fought for above Four Hours; many of them 'fell; though ours had receiv'd but few Wounds. 'After our Horſe came in Sight the Ene-'mies threw away their Arms and fled, who 'left many of their Fellows dead behind them.

'Cæſar, the next Day, ſent his Lieutenant T. 'Labienus, with the Two Legions he had 'brought out of *Britain*, againſt the *Morini*, 'who had made this Rebellion. Their Marſhes 'were now dry, behind which they were wont 'to retire; ſo that they could not enjoy thoſe 'Subterfuges they had the former Year, but 'were almoſt all of them brought under the 'Power of *Labienus*.

'The Lieutenants Q. *Titurius* and L. *Cotta*, 'who led the Legions into the Borders of the 'Geldres. '*Menapii*, laid waſte their Country, cut up their 'Corn, and burnt their Houſes; inſomuch that 'they were glad to hide themſelves in the thickeſt 'Woods, and return'd to their Obedience to *Cæſar*. 'Cæſar appointed Winter Quarters for all his Le-'gions in † *Belgium*. Of all the Cities in *Britain*, † Holland. 'Two only ſent their Hoſtages thither, the reſt 'neglected it. Thus much being done, upon the 'Receipt of *Cæſar*'s Letter, a Supplication of 'Twenty Days was decreed by the *Senate*.

'* *Lucius Domitius* and *Appius Claudius* being * Cæſar. Comment. de belli Gall. *Lib.* 5. 'Conſuls [in the Fifty-ſecond Year before the 'Birth of Chriſt,] *Cæſar* going from his Winter 'Quarters into *Italy*, as he was us'd to do every 'Year, commanded his Lieutenants, with whom

'he

'he left the Charge of the Legions, that they 'should take Care to Build as many Ships as 'they could in the Winter, and Refit the old 'ones. He deſcrib'd the Model and Form of 'them: That they ſhould be made ſomething 'lower, for the Conveniency of Loading and 'Unloading, than thoſe which we uſe in our 'Sea: That they ſhould be alſo a little broad-'er, becauſe by the frequent Changes of the 'Tide the Waves were there much greater; 'and then they would be much more uſeful to 'tranſport a Multitude of Horſes, and other hea-'vy Luggage. He commanded that they ſhould 'be all made for Rowing, to which the Low-'neſs of their Building did very much contribute. 'What [Iron, *&c.*] was requiſite for arming 'the Ships he order'd to be brought out of '*Spain*. Chap. III.

'The Conventions of the hither * *Gaul* being 'over, *Cæſar* goes into † *Illyricum*, becauſe he 'heard that Part which bordered upon the Pro-'vince was laid waſte by the * *Piruſtæ*, who 'made their Inroads upon it. When he came 'thither he commands the Cities to ſend in 'Soldiers, and that they ſhould meet at a cer-'tain Place; the † *Piruſtæ* being inform'd of this, 'ſend Ambaſſadors, and acquaint him, that none 'of thoſe Injuries had been done by the Advice 'of thoſe in Authority, and that they were rea-'dy to make Satisfaction for all that could be 'alledg'd againſt them. Their Remonſtrance 'was accepted. *Cæſar* commands them to deli-'ver Hoſtages, and appoints the Day when they 'ſhould be brought to him; which if they did 'not do he aſſures them he would make War 'in their Country. Hoſtages being brought ac-'cording to Appointment, as he had requir'd,

* Lombardy.
† Slavonia.
* Albanois.
† Albanois.

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'he nominates Commiſſioners for the Cities, 'who might judge of their Controverſie, and 'determine the Penalty.

'Theſe Affairs being finiſh'd, and the Con- 'ventions over, he returns into the hither * *Gaul*, 'and from thence goes to the Army. Having 'viſited all the Winter Quarters, he found that 'by the great Diligence of the Soldiers, though 'they wanted every thing, yet 600 Ships, ſuch 'as have been deſcrib'd, and 28 Galleys were 'got in ſuch a Readineſs, that in a few Days 'they would be fit to ſail. He highly com- 'mended the Soldiers, and thoſe whom he had 'appointed to overſee the Work; and tells them 'what he would now have done; that he would 'have them all brought to * Port *Iccius*, from 'whence he knew there was the moſt convenient 'Paſſage into *Britain*, being but about Thirty 'Miles diſtant from that Part of the Continent.

'Affairs being ſettled [alſo in *Germany*,] *Ca-* '*ſar* came to Port † *Iccius* with the Legions; 'there he underſtood, that 40 Ships, which 'had been built by the * *Meldæ*, had ſuffer'd ſo 'much by a Storm, that they could not continue 'their Courſe, but were carried back again; the reſt 'he found compleatly rigged, and ready to ſail.

'Having diſpoſed all his Concerns in *Gaul*, as 'he thought moſt convenient, he left *Labienus* 'upon the Continent with Three Legions and '2000 Horſe, that he might defend the Ports, 'make Proviſion of Corn, let him know how 'Things went in *Gaul*, and follow ſuch Coun- 'cils as the Occaſion ſhould require. *Cæſar* 'with Five Legions, and the ſame Number of 'Horſe, which he had left upon the Continent, 'at Sun-ſet hoiſted Sail, and went out with a 'gentle South Wind; which ceaſing about 'Mid-

* Lombardy.

* Calais.

† Calais.

* *The People of Meaux in France.*

Midnight he could not go on; but being carried a great Way by the Tide, when the Day broke he ſaw *Britain* upon his Left Hand. Then following the Turn of the Tide, he ſtrove with his Oars to gain that Part of the Iſland where he found there was the beſt Landing laſt Summer. In this Juncture the Diligence of the Soldiers is much to be commended, who ſpar'd no Pains in rowing, which was ſo much, that with their laden and heavy Ships they kept pace with the Galleys. Chap. III.

'About Noon the whole Fleet arriv'd at *Britain*, but there no Enemy was to be ſeen, tho' *Cæſar* afterwards found by the Priſoners that a great many Troops had come thither, but were frightned by the Multitude of our Ships, which with Victuallers, and Veſſels that private Perſons had got for their Conveniencies, might be ſeen at once to be above 800. They therefore left the Shore, and withdrew into the upper Parts of the Country.

'*Cæſar* having landed his Army, and choſen a convenient Place for his Camp (when he was inform'd by the Priſoners where the Forces of the Enemy were) leaving 10 Cohorts and 300 Horſe at the Sea-ſide to be a Guard to the Ships, march'd towards them about 12 a Clock at Night. Not being much concern'd about his Ships, becauſe he had left them at Anchor in a gentle and open Shore, and had appointed *Q. Atrius* Commander in chief. *Cæſar*, marching about 12 Miles in the Night, came within View of the Enemy. They having retir'd to a River with their Horſe and Chariots, did from an Aſcent put a Stop to our Men, and began to engage. But being repuls'd by the Horſe, ſhelter'd themſelves in the Woods,

'where

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'where they had a Place well fortified by Na-
'ture and their own Work; which (as it
'ſeems) they had formerly made upon the Oc-
'caſion of a Domeſtick War: For all the En-
'trances to it were ſhut up by a great many
'Trees that had been cut down. They fought
'us in the thinner Woods, and would not ſuffer
'us to come within their Fortifications. But
'the Soldiers of the Seventh Legion covering
'themſelves with their Shields, and throwing
'up a Bank againſt their Works, took the Place
'with little Loſs. But *Cæſar* would not ſuffer
'them to purſue far, becauſe he was not ac-
'quainted with the Condition of the Country;
'and the greateſt Part of the Day being ſpent,
'he was willing to beſtow the time that was
'left, upon fortifying his own Camp. Next
'Morning he ſent his Soldiers and the Horſe
'upon an Expedition in Three Parties, to pur-
'ſue thoſe that were run away. But they were
'not gone as far upon the Journey as to be quite
'out of ſight, when ſome Horſemen came from
'*Atrius* to *Cæſar*, and acquainted him that
'the Night before a great Tempeſt had riſen
'by which all his Ships were ſhatter'd, and
'caſt upon the Shore: That neither Ropes nor
'Anchors would hold them; that the Mariners
'and Pilots were not able to endure the Violence
'of the Storm; that the Ships ſuſtain'd very
'great Damage by falling foul upon one ano-
'ther.

'*Cæſar* upon this recals the Legions and
'Horſe, and bids them quit their Expedition.
'He himſelf returns to the Ships, and then ſaw
'what he had receiv'd account of by Letters
'and Meſſages: Yet he found that loſing about
'Forty, the reſt with a great deals of Pains might
'be

'be Refitted. He therefore choſe Carpenters out Chap. III.
'of the Legions, and commanded others to
'come to him from the Continent. He Writes
'to *Labienus* to ſet the Legions which were
'with him upon Building as many Ships as
'they could. He himſelf determines, that tho'
'it would be a Work of great Toil and Dif-
'ficulty, yet it would be moſt Convenient to
'draw up all his Ships, and encloſe them in
'One Fortification with the Camp. He ſpent
'about Ten Days in accompliſhing this Deſign,
'not ſo much as the Night keeping the Sol-
'diers from their Work: But having drawn
'up his Ships, and very well fortified his Camp,
'he left the ſame Forces with them which
'they had for their Guard before.

'*Cæſar* marches to the Place from whence
'he was return'd; and when he came thither
'he found that greater Forces of the *Britains*
'were got together from all Parts. The Su-
'preme Power of the Government, and the Ma-
'nagement of the War, was by common Con-
'ſent committed to *Caſſivellan*, whoſe Territo-
'ries were ſeparated from the Maritime Cities
'by the River called *Thames*, about 80 Miles
'from the Sea: He had formerly continual War
'with the other Cities: But the *Britains*,
'being mov'd to it by our coming, conſtitu-
'ted him Supreme both in their War and Go-
'vernment.

'The inner Part of *Britain* is inhabited by
'thoſe, who, according to Ancient Tradition,
'were Born in the Iſland: The Maritime Part
'by thoſe, who either to get Booty, or make
'War, paſs'd over from * *Belgium*; who are
'almoſt all called by the Names of thoſe Ci-
'ties from which they had their Original: After
'they

* *The Low Countries.*

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'they had made War, they continued there, and 'began to Cultivate the Ground.

'There is an infinite Multitude of People, 'the Houſes ſtand very thick, and are Built 'much like thoſe of the *Galli:* Great abundance 'of Cattle: They uſe a Sort of Braſs Money, 'or Iron Rings adjuſted by a certain Weight, 'inſtead of Money. There is a White Lead in 'the Midland Countries, and in the Maritime 'Iron, but not much of it. The Braſs they 'make uſe of is imported. They have Wood 'of all Sorts, as in * *Gaul*, except the Beech 'and the Fir-tree. They don't think it Lawful 'to Taſte of an *Hare*, *Hen*, or a *Gooſe*; they 'do indeed feed them, but it is for their Diver- 'ſion. The Climate is more Temperate, the 'Cold leſs Rigorous, than that of *Gaul.* The 'Shape of the Iſland is Three Square: One ſide 'lyes againſt *Gaul*, and One Angle on this ſide 'is in *Kent*, where, towards the *Eaſt*, all the 'Ships are wont to Arrive out of *Gaul*; the 'other Angle lyes lower towards the *South*: 'This ſide is extended about 500 Miles. The 'Second ſide looks towards *Spain* and the *Weſt*, 'near which lyes *Ireland*, by Eſtimation half as 'big as *Britain*, but the Diſtance between *Bri- 'tain* and *Ireland* is the ſame as that between 'Gaul* and *Britain.* In the middle between 'Britain* and *Ireland* lyes the Iſland call'd * *Mo- 'na*, beſides many other leſſer Iſlands are thought 'to be ſcatter'd along the Coaſts. Concerning 'which Iſlands ſome have Written, that for the 'Space of Thirty Days they have a continual 'Light, and in the Winter as much Night to- 'gether. We found no Certainty upon our En- 'quiry, but we ſaw by certain Meaſures which 'were contriv'd with Water, that the Nights 'were

* France.

* According to Tacitus the Iſle of Angleſey: But here more properly the Iſle of Man.

were ſhorter here than on the Continent. The Longitude of this ſide they reckon to be 700 Miles. Chap. III.

'The Third ſide is againſt the *North*, over-againſt which there is no Land, but the Angle of this ſide points moſt towards *Germany*. They judge the Longitude of this ſide to be 800 Miles. So that the whole Iſland is in Compaſs 2000 Miles.

'Much the greateſt Humanity is to be found among thoſe that Inhabit *Kent*, which Country is all Maritime, and differs very little from *Gaul* in their Cuſtoms. Moſt of the Inland People Sow no Corn, but Live upon Milk and Fleſh. They are cloathed with Skins; but all the *Britains* Dye themſelves with Wood, which makes a Blue Colour, and hereby they have a more dreadful Aſpect in a Battle. They wear their Hair long, and Shave all but the Head and Upper Lip. Ten and Twelve have Wives Common among them, chiefly Brothers with Brothers, and Parents with Children. Thoſe that are Born belong to ſuch as firſt took the Virgins.

'The Horſe and Charioteers of the Enemy had a ſharp Diſpute with our Horſe as they were on their March; but our Men always got the better, and drove them to the Hills and Woods: Many were Slain, but the Soldiers purſuing too eagerly, ſome of ours were loſt. They, letting a little Time paſs, broke out ſuddenly from the Woods, when our Men never thought of it, but were buſie in Fortifying their Camp; and Attacking the Guard, Fought fiercely. *Cæſar* ſent in Two Cohorts to their Aid, and thoſe the Firſt of the Second Legion: Whilſt our Men were ſome-

'thing

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'thing terrified with the new manner of Fighting, 'and ſtood not ſo cloſe together, but that there 'was a ſmall Interval of Ground between them, 'they boldly broke through the midſt of them, 'and then retir'd ſafe. That Day Q. *Laberius* '*Durus*, a Military Tribune, was Slain: But 'more Cohorts being ſent in they were re-'puls'd.

'In this Sort of Fight, which was managed 'in every One's View, and juſt before the Camp, 'it was obſerv'd that our Men, becauſe of the 'Heavineſs of their Arms, neither durſt purſue 'thoſe that gave back, nor go far from their 'Enſigns, ſo that they were the leſs fit to 'Fight this Sort of Enemy. But the Horſe en-'gaged with much Hazard, becauſe they would 'many Times Retreat out of Deſign, and when 'they had drawn our Men a little from the Le-'gions, they would leap out of their Chariots, 'and Fighting a Foot made the Diſpute une-'qual: Both in retreating and purſuing the 'Horſe Fought after the ſame Manner, and 'there was the ſame Danger. Beſides, they ne-'ver engag'd cloſe together, but ſcatter'd at a 'great Diſtance from one another; they had 'their ſeveral Stations appointed, and ſo would 'relieve one another; freſh Men would come 'in, and ſucceed thoſe that were tir'd.

'Next Day the Enemy ſtood upon the Hills 'at a great Diſtance from our Camp: Their 'Troops were but thin, and they were not ſo 'eager in provoking our Horſe to Fight as the 'Day before. But about Noon, when *Cæſar* 'had ſent Three Legions and all the Horſe with 'his Lieutenant C. *Trebonius* to Forrage, of a 'ſudden they flew in upon them from all Parts, 'inſomuch that they Attack'd the Legions and

'the

the Enſigns. Our Men gave them a fierce Re- Chap. III.
pulſe; and as long as the Horſe ſaw that they were back'd by the Legions, they never left off purſuing, but drove them headlong: A great Number of them being Slain, they had not the Opportunity of getting together, or making a ſtand, or getting out of their Chariots. After this Rout, the Auxiliaries, which were come from all Parts, left them: Nor after that Time did the Enemy ever Fight us with their main Forces.

'*Cæſar* getting Intelligence of their Deſigns, led his Army to the River *Thames*, the Bounds of *Caſſivellan*; which could be paſs'd over by the Foot only in One Place, and that with great Difficulty. When he came thither he found great Forces of the Enemy drawn up upon the oppoſite Bank, which was fortified with ſharp Stakes fix'd before it, and the ſame Sort of Stakes were alſo fixed under Water, and cover'd by the River. This being diſcover'd by Priſoners and Deſerters, *Cæſar* ſent the Horſe before, and commanded the Legions immediately to follow. The Soldiers went with ſuch Celerity and Force, that though their Heads only were above Water, the Enemy was not able to bear the Shock: They forſook the Banks and fled.

'*Caſſivellan* (as has been ſaid) laying aſide all Hopes of Succeſs in an Engagement, had diſmiſs'd the greater Part of his Forces; and keeping with him only about 4000 Chariots, obſerv'd our Marches. He lay a little off thoſe Ways which we were to paſs, hiding himſelf in the Woodland and more Inacceſſible Parts: He brought all the People and Cattle out of the Field into the Woods of thoſe

'Coun-

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'Countries, through which he knew we would
'make our Expedition, and when our Horse
'went more at large, either for the Sake of
'Forrage or Plunder, he would pour into the
'Fields, and send his Charioteers out of the
'Woods, by all the Ways and Passes which
'they were well acquainted with. Our Horse were
'in great Danger when he engag'd with them,
'whereby he much restrain'd our Excursions.
'It came to this, that *Cæsar* would not suffer
'his Men to go from the Body of the Legions,
'and would only allow that they should In-
'commode the Enemy, in destroying the Corn,
'and burning the Houses, as far as the Le-
'gionary Soldiers were able to bear them Com-
'pany.

† *People of Middlesex.*

'In the mean while the † *Trinobantes*, the
'strongest City of those Parts, send Ambassadors:
'Of this City was Young *Mandrubratius*, who
'being in Alliance with *Cæsar*, had come over
'to him in *Gaul* upon the Continent; his
'Father, *Imanuentius*, who had obtain'd the
'Kingdom in that City, had been slain by
'*Cassivellan*, and he sav'd his Life by Flight.
'These Ambassadors surrendred themselves to
'*Cæsar*, and promis'd to Obey his Commands:
'They Petition that *Mandubratius* may be pro-
'tected from the Injury of *Cassivellan*, that he
'would send him to the City that he might
'obtain the Presidence and Government. *Cæsar*
'Commands them to give Forty Hostages, and
'Corn for the Army, and sends *Mandubratius*
'to them. They readily perform'd what he
'requir'd; sent both the Corn, and that Num-
'ber of Hostages. The *Trinobantes* being thus
'taken into Protection, and defended from all
the

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'the Injuries of the Soldiers, the * *Cenimagni*, '† the *Segontiaci*, * the *Ancalites*, † the *Bi-* '*broci*, and * the *Caſſi*, ſent alſo Embaſſies, and 'ſubmitted themſelves to *Cæſar*; by theſe he un- 'derſtood that *Caſſivellan*'s Town was not far 'from that Place, fortified with Woods and 'Lakes, in which a multitude of Men and Cat- 'tle were got together.

'The *Britains* call it a Town [*Oppidum*] when 'they have fortified the thick Woods with a 'Rampier and a Trench, in which they are 'wont to keep for avoiding the Incurſions of 'the Enemy. Thither *Cæſar* goes with the Le- 'gions, and finds it very ſtrong by Nature 'and Art, yet Storms it in Two Places. The 'Enemies did not ſtand long, being not able 'to bear the Force of our Soldiers, but made 'an Eruption from another Part of the Town: 'A great Number of Cattle were found there; 'many of their Men taken and ſlain in the 'Purſuit.

'Whilſt the War was thus carried on in theſe Parts, *Caſſivellan* ſends Meſſengers into *Kent*, which lyes upon the Sea, (as we have ſaid): In the Countries there, Four Kings, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus* and *Segonax* reigned: He Commands them, that getting all their Forces together they ſhould of a ſudden ſet upon the Naval Camp, and Storm it. When they came to the Camp, our Soldiers ſallying out ſlew many of them, and took their Noble Captain *Cingetorix*, after which they brought back their own Men ſafe. *Caſſivellan*, upon the News of this Battle, of ſo many Loſſes, and the Ravage of his own Territories, but chiefly mov'd by the Revolt of the Cities, ſends Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, by the

* Iceui, *People of* Suffolk. Camden *in* Suffolk.

† *People in* Hampſhire.

* *The Hundred of* Henly *in* Oxfordſhire.

† *The Hundred of* Bray *in* Berkſhire.

* *The Hundred of* Caiſhow *in* Hertfordſhire.

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'Mediation of *Comius* of *Arras*, to Treat of
'a Surrender. *Cæsar* having resolv'd to Win-
'ter upon the Continent, because of some sud-
'den Commotions in *Gaul*, and considering
'that there was not much of the Summer left,
'which might be spun out by the Enemy, de-
'mands Hostages, and appoints what Tribute
'*Britain* should Pay every Year to the *Roman*
'People. He strictly Charges and Commands
'*Cassivellan* not to Injure *Mandubratius* and
'the * *Trinobantes*. Having receiv'd the Hosta-
'ges, he brought back his Army to the Sea,
'and there found the Ships Refitted. He brought
'them off the Land; but because he had a
'great Number of Prisoners, and some of the
'Ships had been wholly destroy'd by the Tem-
'pest, he resolves to Transport the Army at
'Two several Times. In which he had so good
'Fortune, that neither in this, nor in the for-
'mer Year, though there was so great a Num-
'ber of Ships, and so many several Voyages,
'yet there was not One Vessel lost in which
'Soldiers were Transported. But of those that
'came in Ballast from the Continent to him,
'after the Soldiers which passed first were land-
'ed, and of those which *Labienus* took Care
'afterwards to Build, to the Number of Sixty,
'very few arriv'd, but were almost all beat
'back. Which when *Cæsar* had a great while
'expected in vain, fearing that he should lose
'the Time of Year that was fittest for Sail-
'ing, now the *Equinox* approach'd, in this Case
'of Necessity he crouded his Soldiers closer
'together, and having got most Serene Weather,
'set Sail at Nine a Clock at Night: By break
'of Day he made Land, and brought all his
'Ships safe into Harbour.

'In

* *The People of* Middlesex.

'In this Account which *Cæsar* gives of *Bri-* Chap. III.
'*tain*, he distinguishes between the inner Part of
'it, which was inhabited by those, who accord-
'ing to Ancient Tradition were Born in the
'Island, and those of the Maritime Parts, who
'either to get Booty, or make War, passed
'over from *Belgium*: Who are almost all cal-
'led by the Names of those Cities from which
'they had their Original, who (as he thinks)
'after they had made War, continued here,
'and began to Cultivate the Ground.

Cæsar knew nothing of the true Original of Mankind, nor of the Migration of the Families from *Babel*; so he was fain to be Content with the Ancient Tradition, that the more Inland *Britains* were Born in the Island, as if they had sprung out of the Earth: But then acquainting us that others came as Colonies from the Continent, it must follow, according to him, that there was another Sort of People, who liv'd after the manner of those Nations from whence they came. And indeed, considering the vast Interval of Time from the Flood to *Julius Cæsar*, being much above 2000 Years, we may very well suppose that *Britain* before this Time had some Additions of People from the Neighbouring Nations; so that the Barbarities mentioned by our Historians must be confin'd to the Inland Countries. People that continued to Traffick, and hold Correspondence with those to whom they Anciently belong'd, could not Live without maintaining those Decencies and Civilities which are Necessary to Humane Society.

There was some Reason to Talk so much of the Barbarous *Britains*, because these were the Enemies which the *Romans* had to deal with.

Chap. III. The Trading Part sent over Embassies to *Cæsar*, and knew it was their Interest to Traffick in the Empire; a Submission to *Cæsar*, and his Protection from their Lawless Neighbours, would have been their great Advantage: But the Princes were too Potent for them, and after all their Offers, Two Cities only (as *Cæsar* observes) sent Hostages. The * *Trinobantes*, who lay upon the River *Thames*, were most probably People of the greatest Trade: we find their King *Imanuentius* slain by *Cassivellan*, when he came to have the Supreme Management of the War, and his Son *Mandubratius* flying to *Cæsar* for Protection. This proves not only that there were Two different Sort of People, but that they had a different Interest: One of them living Wild in the Country, and the other employed in Trade.

* *People of* Middlesex.

This also may be the Reason why *Cæsar* never mentions *London*, but only the Pursuit of *Cassivellan* over the *Thames* † at *Oatlands*, a great way *West* of *London*: He had no Occasion to Fight against a Place which desir'd his Friendship, and whose Prince was preserv'd by him. He gives an Account of the Conquest of his Enemies; and that the *Trinobantes*, who had been forc'd by *Cassivellan* to take Part with him, were the first People that sought Alliance with the *Romans* when they were in *Britain*. Which was as much as he had Occasion to mention. But as to the coming of Colonies hither from † *Belgium*, he represents things more according to his own Genius, than the Condition of the World before his Time. The Trade of *Rome* was War; they had no other Business with the Nations of the World but to Fight and Conquer them; so that he could not imagine

* Camd. *Brit. in* Surry.

† Holland.

what Purpoſe the *Belgæ* or *Attrebatii* ſhould come over, except it was either to Plunder or Subdue their Neighbours. This was his Way: But certainly the Deſign of Traffick, to Vend their own Goods, and Partake of thoſe Commodities which other Countries afforded, was much more eaſie and common. Navigation and War were not grown to that height before his Time, that the People of the Continent ſhould furniſh out a Fleet and an Army to Invade an Iſland as he did: If it was then ſo difficult to place the *Roman* Standard upon the Shores of *Britain*, it muſt be Impoſſible for thoſe Nations which he had conquer'd to do it. The Princes of *Britain* were too Potent to ſuffer any ſuch Invaſion, and the Neighbouring Nations were too Wiſe to venture their Wives and Children upon the Shores of the *Barbarians*, where *Voluſenus*, the *Roman* Scout, durſt not Land ſo much as to get Intelligence. Chap. III.

Beſides, *Cæſar* does not at all intimate that there had been any thing of War or Animoſity between thoſe of *Gaul* and the People of *Britain*; but on the contrary, that they liv'd in a continual Kindneſs and Correſpondence with one another: They all along ſent their Auxiliary Forces to the Continent, as being in a firm Alliance. So that we have much more Reaſon to attribute the planting of *Britain* from *Gaul* or *Belgium* to Trade, than to War.

But whether there was a Second Plantation is not certain; the Names of *Belgæ* and *Attrebatii*, which Mr. *Camden* makes to be the People of *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire*, *Barkſhire* are not ſo agreeable to a New, as to an Old Original: For when the Nations did venture upon the Sea, they uſually went to the Shores

Chap. III. that were neareſt to them; but none of theſe People lye in the Countries over againſt *Holland* and *Flanders*. Indeed Romantick Writers make nothing of bringing Nations from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, and Sailing over the *Atlantick* Ocean as exactly as if they had been guided by the Needle and Compaſs: But if we depend upon the greateſt Probability, we muſt conſider how the World ſtood at that Time; and then it will appear much more likely that the Ancient *Britains* ſpread over hither from the Neighbouring Continent, afterwards planted themſelves up and down the Iſland, as they found the beſt Conveniencies, and by holding a continual Correſpondence with their Old Relations, kept up the Names of thoſe Families from whence they were derived. This ſeems much more likely than that they ſhould come hither in Armies and Colonies; or that the *Belgæ* ſhould be able to take Poſſeſſion of the *Weſt* Country of *Britain*. There is no Queſtion but the Princes and People of the Inland Countries were more Barbarous than thoſe who inhabited the Maritime Ports, and held Correſpondence with their Neighbours: But the former were the Enemies of the *Romans*, and therefore they chiefly give an Account of them. If therewas any thing Extravagant or Extraordinary among them, we may be ſure their Hiſtorians will tell us of it; as has been obſerv'd by a very Judicious Writer, ſpeaking of the *Scythians*, *Γὰ περὶ τῆς ὠμότητος αὐτῶν λέγουσιν, εἰδότες τὸ δεινὸν, καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν, ἐκπληκτικὸν ὂν δέον τἀναντία, καὶ λέγειν καὶ παραδείγματα ποιεῖσθαι. They make Reports of their Cruelty, knowing that will ſtrike our Affections which is dreadful and amazing: Whereas they ought to relate

* Strabo. *Geogr.* lib. 7.

late and ſhew Examples of the contrary. Thus the *Romans* treated their *Britiſh* Enemies, and their Hiſtorians pleas'd their Readers with that which was moſt ſtrange and diſagreeable to the Sentiments of Humane Nature; though they might at the ſame Time have given an Account of ſome Vertues and Excellencies among them. Chap. III.

After *Julius Cæſar* had viſited *Britain*, ſubdued *Caſſivellan*, the Chief of their Kings, received Hoſtages from many Cities, and impos'd an Annual Tribute; the Civil Wars broke out, and ſo engag'd the *Romans* that they could not look after their Remote Conqueſts. *Auguſtus* in the beginning of his Reign was taken up with them, and in the latter Part of it was ſo much a Prince of Peace, that he did not endeavour to enlarge the Empire by harraſing the Nations of the World; yet *Horace* mentions *adjecti Britanni*, that the *Britains* were added to his Dominions: But when he died, left a Written Account of the Empire, * *addideratq; conſilium coercendi intra terminos imperii. And he added his Advice to reſtrain the Empire within Bounds.* Which Bounds * *Julian*, one of the Succeſſors, makes to be *Iſter*, or the *Danube* and *Euphrates*. Others have ſince, though without any Authority, added the *Rhine* and the *Ocean*; ſo that according to this, *Britain* muſt by the Council of *Auguſtus* be excluded from the Empire.

* *Tacit. Annal.* lib. 1.

* *In* Menip. de Cæſaribus.

But it ſeems rather that *Britain* held a good Correſpondence, and continued in Obedience to the *Romans*: Theſe had been lately ſubdued, who were their Principal Enemies; and beſides, the Spirits of thoſe, who found they were not able to Fight them, when they are once ſunk,

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are not eaſily rais'd again. *Mandubratius*, their ſure Friend, was left King of the *Trinobantes*, who were the ſtrongeſt People among them. And we find in the Time of *Tiberius*, that when a Fleet which *Germanicus* had upon the Ocean was Shipwrack'd and Scatter'd, * *Quidam in Britanniam rapti, & remiſſi à Regulis. Some of them were driven into* Britain, *and ſent back by the Princes*, which certainly implies a Friendſhip and Alliance.

* *Tacit. Annal.* lib. 2.

In the Life of *Caligula* we find a *Britiſh* Prince, who thought himſelf injur'd, flying to the *Roman* Emperor; as was frequently done, when the Kingdoms were under the Imperial Sovereignty. * ‘ *Adminius*, Son of *Cinobelline*, King of ‘ the *Britains*, who was expell'd by his Fa- ‘ ther, and fled away with a ſmall Company, ‘ ſurrendred himſelf into the Protection [of *Cali-* ‘ *gula.*] Upon this, as if the whole Iſland had been ‘ given up to him, he ſends Magnificent Let- ‘ ters to *Rome*, Commands the *Couriers* that ‘ they ſhould not ſtop till they came to the *Forum*, ‘ and even to the *Curia*: That they ſhould deliver ‘ them only to the *Conſuls* themſelves, and that ‘ only in the Temple of *Mars*, and in a full Senate.

* *Sueton. in* C. Calig. cap. 44.

* *Dio* proceeds further, tells us that which is more Comical, and fully diſcovers the Genius of the Emperor. He pretended to carry over the War into *Britain*, drew up his Soldiers in Battalia upon the Sea Shore, then entring into a Galley, took a ſhort Turn upon the Sea: Coming back again, he Commands the Military Muſick to Sound, and the Sign of Battle to be given. When the Soldiers were ſtaring about for the Enemy, he iſſued out his Orders that they ſhould immediately gather up all the Cockles and Muſcles, and Shells of Fiſh,

* *Dio Caſſ.* lib. 59.

Fiſh, that they could lay their Hands on. Chap. III.
Theſe he call'd the Spoils of the Ocean, and ſent many of them to *Rome* as the Trophies of his Victory. But as a laſting Memorial, Mr. *Camden* gives us an Account of a Stone Turret which he Built, wherein Lights were kept blazing all Night, which were very Uſeful to the Seamen, whatever the Glory was that the Emperor receiv'd by them.

† 'The Ruins whereof are ſometimes ſeen at a Low Water in the Shore of *Holland*, and by the People there inhabiting is called *Britenhuis*. Who alſo find oftentimes Stones Engraven with Letters, of which one had theſe Characters *C. C. P. F.* which they (I wot not how truly) expound thus *Caius Caligula Pharum fecit.* i. e. *Caius Caligula* this *Pharus* made. † Camd. *Brit.* p. 40.

But in the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*, the further Conqueſt of *Britain* was carried on in good Earneſt; which indeed *Suetonius* makes no great Matter of, as delighting more to Expoſe the Vices than Advance the Glory of thoſe, whoſe Lives he Writes: But we have from *Dio* a real Enlargement of the *Roman* Dominion in the Kingdom of the * *Iceni*, a great Way *North* of *Thames*. We muſt therefore underſtand *Suetonius* of the Trading Part, the *Weſt* Country, where the *Ptumbum Album*, the Mines of Tin, lay; and *Dio* of the *Northern* Princes, who had their Chariots, and were ready to Fight both the Emperor and his Generals. * Norfolk and Suffolk.

* '*Claudius*, that he might have the Honour of a compleat Triumph, above all choſe *Britain*, from whence it might be acquir'd. Nor had any tried their Fortune there ſince *Divus Julius*; and now there was an Opportunity given, by ſome Tumults that were made upon the * Sueton *in* Claud. cap. 17.

'de-

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'denial to deliver up those Persons that were 'fled thither.

'As he Sail'd from *Ostia* he was Thrice like 'to be drown'd by a Whirlwind upon the Coasts 'of *Liguria*, near the * Islands *Stœchades*. So 'that travelling by Land from *Massilia* to † *Ge*- '*soriecum*, he thence passed over Sea. Within 'a few Days, without any Fight or Bloodshed, 'Part of the *Island* was surrendred to him. He 'return'd to *Rome* Six Months after he had set 'out, and triumph'd with the greatest Magnifi- 'cence.

* *The Isles of* Hieres, *near* Marseilles *in* France.

† Boloin *in* West France.

The Account which *Dio* gives is much more Particular and Historical, and does imply that the Alliance between the *Romans* and *Britains* was broken off; which might well be since *Caligula* had declared himself their Enemy, but durst not Attempt to Reduce them. 'Twas in the Year of our Lord 44, that *Claudius* (himself and *Vitellius* being Consuls) undertook the Recovery of *Britain*.

* '*Aulus Plautius*, a Senator, a Person most 'Eminent, led an Army into *Britain*; the Oc- 'casion was, that *Bericus*, who was driven out 'of the *Island* for Sedition, had persuaded *Clau*- '*dius* to it. *Plautius* was then Pretor, but could 'very hardly prevail upon the Army to go out 'of *Gaul*; they look'd upon it as a War be- 'yond the Bounds of the World, and spent their 'Time in Delays. But when *Narcissus* was sent 'from *Claudius*, and got upon *Plautius*'s Tribu- 'nal to Harangue the Soldiers, they were en- 'raged with greater Indignation than ever, and 'cried out, *Io Saturnalia*, (according to the man- 'ner of that Festival, which is Celebrated by 'Servants in the Habit of their Masters) after 'this they readily follow'd *Plautius*. He di- 'vided

* *Dio. Cass.* lib. 60.

'vided his Forces into Three diſtinct Parts, leſt 'if they ſhould Arrive all at one Place they 'might be hindred from landing: They were 'at firſt driven back by the Wind, which ſome-'thing diſcompos'd them; but their Courage 'was rais'd again by a ſudden Light that darted 'from the *Eaſt* to the *Weſt*, as it were proſpe-'rouſly directing the Courſe they were to 'Sail: They landed upon the Shores of *Bri-'tain*, and met with none to oppoſe them. Chap. III.

'For the *Britains*, not believing they would 'come, did not get together, but hid them-'ſelves in the Woods and Fens, endeavouring 'to draw out the Time, that they might return 'again, as *Julius Cæſar* did, without accom-'pliſhing their Deſign. *Plautius* was forc'd to 'ſpend a great deal of Time in finding them 'out, and when he had found them, he firſt aſ-'ſaulted *Cataratacus*, after him *Togodunus*, the 'Sons of *Cynobeline*: For the People had not 'the Government of themſelves, but were in 'Subjection to Kings. Theſe Princes he over-'came, their Father being Dead before, and 'upon their Flight took part of the * *Boduni*, '(who were ſubject to the * *Catuellani*) into 'his Protection. There he left a Gariſon, and 'coming to a River which the *Barbarians* 'thought the *Romans* could not paſs over with-'out a Bridge, they lay careleſly in the Camp 'on the other ſide of it. But *Plautius* ſent his 'Germans, who could ſwim over the moſt 'rapid Streams; theſe ſurpriz'd the Enemy, but 'ſlew none of their Men: They only wound-'ed the Horſes that drew their Chariots, and 'put thoſe that managed them into Diſorder.

* Glouceſterſhire *and* Oxfordſhire. Camden.

* Buckinghamſhire *and* Hertfordſhire.

'Then he ſent *Flavius Veſpatian* (who was 'afterwards Emperor) and his Brother *Sabinus*,

'who

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'who croſſing the River, ſurpriz'd and ſlew ma-
'ny of the *Barbarians*. Nor did the reſt fly,
'but next Day ſo maintain'd the Fight that the
'Victory was uncertain; till C. *Sidius Geta*
'was very near being taken, but at length ſo
'powerfully prevail'd againſt the Enemy, that
'he had Triumphal Honours given him, though
'he had not yet been Conſul.

'Thence the *Barbarians* fled to the River
'*Thames*, where it empties it ſelf into the O-
'cean, and by overflowing makes a great Fenny
'Lake. Theſe Places were well known to them;
'but the *Romans*, whilſt they purſued, were in
'great Danger, till the *Germans* had Swum
'over, and others paſſing higher by a Bridge,
'ſurrounded the *Barbarians* and ſlew them on
'every ſide; but unadviſedly following them
'too far into the Fens, they loſt many of their own
'Men. Becauſe of this, and that for the Death
'of *Togodunus*, the *Britains* were ſo far from
'yielding, as to make a fiercer War in Revenge
'of it; *Plautius* did not think fit to proceed
'further, but ſtood upon his Guard, and ſent for
'*Claudius*, as he was commanded, if any thing
'ſhould fall out of more than ordinary Danger.

'For this Expedition great Preparations were
'made, and Elephants procur'd: *Claudius*, as
'ſoon as he had receiv'd the Expreſs, ſettles all
'at Home, commits the Soldiers and Affairs of
'the City to his Collegue *Vitellius*, (whom he
'had joined to himſelf in a Conſulſhip of Six
'Months) he ſets forward with the Army, and
'taking Ship at *Oſtia*, came to *Marſeilles*;
'from thence paſſing partly a Foot, and partly
'by the Rivers, he arriv'd at the Ocean, and
'Sailing over into *Britain*, join'd his Forces,
'which lay expecting him upon the Banks of
'the

the *Thames*. With theſe he paſs'd the River, and the *Barbarians* having aſſembled all their Forces to meet him, he came to an Engagement. He got the Victory, and took * *Camalodunum*, the Royal City of King *Cunobeline*: After which many ſurrendred, and ſome he took by Force, inſomuch that he was often ſaluted *Imperator*, contrary to the *Roman* Cuſtom, which gives this Title but once in one and the ſame War. *Claudius* diſarms the *Britains*, leaves thoſe that were Conquer'd to the Government of *Plautius*, and the reſt to be ſubdued by him. He himſelf haſtens to *Rome*, and ſends before him the News of his Victory by his Son-in law, *Pompy* and *Silanus*. Chap. III.

* Malden *in* Eſſex.

Plautius had ſo good Succeſs, that he return'd with an *Oration* into the City; and that great General *Veſpatian*, whom *Claudius* alſo left here, * 'fought Thirty Times with the Enemy; Two of the Strongeſt Nations, above Twenty Towns, and the *Iſle of Wight*, which lyes cloſe to *Britain*, were reduc'd under his Power. But the Loſs of Four Books of thoſe Excellent *Annals*, from the 6th to the 11th, Written by *Cornelius Tacitus* has depriv'd us of the more particular Knowledge of theſe Things: Yet there ſtill remains in his Twelfth Book a Large Relation of the Affairs of *Britain* under *Oſtorius Scapula*, immediate Succeſſor to *Plautius*, which we are in the next Place to purſue.

* Sueton. *in* vit. Veſpatian, *cap.* 4.

'* When *P. Oſtorius* came as Pro-Pretor into *Britain*, the Affairs there were in a Troubleſom Condition; the Enemies were broke into the Country of the allies; and the more boldly, becauſe they did not believe that a new General, with an Army of which he had not yet Experi-

* Tacit. *lib.* 12. *cap.* 31.

'ence,

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'ence, and after the Winter was begun, would 'dare to meet them. He being ſenſible that 'the firſt Enterprizes produce the moſt Hope or 'Fear, takes with him the moſt Expedite Co-'horts, cutting thoſe off that made Reſiſtance, 'he ſo ſcatter'd thoſe he had Routed, that they 'could not get together again in one Body: 'Then conſidering that an angry and faithleſs 'Pacification gives no Reſt either to the General 'or the Soldiers, he diſarms all that he ſuſpect-'ed, and ſecured the Two Rivers, *Sabrina* 'and *Atona*, [*Avon*], by placing Garriſons 'upon them.

* Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge *and* Huntingtonſhire. Camden.

'This Reſtraint the * *Iceni* firſt refus'd to ſub-'mit to, a Stout Nation, and not broken with 'War, having freely accepted of our Alli-'ance. Theſe led on the Neighbouring People, 'and choſe a Place for the Engagement, which 'was fenc'd about with a rude Rampire, and 'had a narrow Entrance, that it might not be 'paſſable for the Horſe. The *Roman* General, 'though he then only led the Troops of his 'Allies, without the ſtrength of the Legions, at-'tempts to break though; he draws up the Co-'horts, and ſets the Troops of Horſe in a Readi-'neſs to do their Duty. Then giving the Sig-'nal, they break into their Works, and diſtreſs 'thoſe that were pent within their own Fences. 'They conſcious of their Rebellion, and want-'ing Ways to fly, perform'd many great Actions. 'In this Fight *M. Oſtorius*, the General's Son, 'merited the Honour of ſaving a Citizen.

'By this Defeat of the *Iceni*, thoſe who wa-'ver'd between Peace and War came to a Set-'tlement, and the Army was led among the

* *People of* Cheſhire. Camden.

'* *Cangi*. Their Fields were laid waſte, and 'their Cattle driven away; nor durſt the Ene-

my

'my come to an Engagement; if at any time 'they lay in Ambuſh to fall upon the Rear of 'our Army, they paid dear for their Contri-'vance. The Army was not far from that Sea 'which lyes upon *Ireland*, when Diſcords riſen 'among the † *Brigantes* drew the General back 'again; for he was reſolv'd not to attempt any 'thing further before he had well ſecur'd what 'was already gain'd. But the *Brigantes*, a few 'of them being ſlain that had taken Arms, and 'the reſt pardon'd, were ſoon brought to be 'quiet.

† *Thoſe of* Yorkſhire.

'The * *Silures* were a Nation not to be wrought 'upon by either Terror or Clemency; they 'would have War, and could be kept under only 'by Camps of Legionary Soldiers. That this 'might be the better attended upon, the Colo-'ny of *Camalodunum*, which conſiſted of a ſtrong 'Company of *Veterans*, was brought into the 'Countries that had been Subdued, both as a 'Strength againſt any Rebellion, and as giving 'an Opportunity to the Allies, whereby they 'might be inſtructed in the *Roman* Cuſtoms. 'Then the Expedition againſt the *Silures* was 'undertaken, who were not only confident in 'their own Valour, but much more in the Power 'of *Caractacus*; whoſe Reputation many diffi-'cult and proſperous Attempts had raiſed, much 'above that of any other *Britiſh* Commanders. 'But he was ſo politick, and well acquainted 'with the Advantage of every Paſs, that tho' 'he was inferior in the Number of Soldiers, he 'transferr'd the War among the * *Ordovices*: 'He join'd with all thoſe that dreaded to have 'Peace with us, and then ventures upon a de-'ciſive Battle: He choſe his Ground, ſo that 'both the Acceſſes and Receſſes might be eaſie

* South-Wales.

* North-Wales.

'to

Chap. III. ‘ to them, and difficult to us. If the Way was ‘ any thing passable up an Hill, he would raise ‘ a Rampier of Stones upon it: If the River ‘ that run by was anywhere fordable, there he ‘ set his Best Troops to defend it.

‘ Then he rode up to the Captains of the se- ‘ veral Nations, fir'd their Courage, and con- ‘ firm'd their Resolutions; he set before them all ‘ the Incitements to War, which might either ‘ raise their Hopes, or lessen their Fears. *Cara-* ‘ *ctacus* flying about from one Place to another, ‘ told them, *That was the Day, that was the* ‘ *Army, which must either recover their Liberty,* ‘ *or be the beginning of their Eternal Slavery.* ‘ *He call'd upon the Names of their Ancestors,* ‘ *who had driven away their Dictator* Cæsar; ‘ *by whose Valour they were free from Taxes* ‘ *and Tributes, and could preserve the Bodies of* ‘ *their Wives and Children from Violence.* The ‘ common People replied to this Discourse in ‘ Shouts: Every one religiously engaged after ‘ their manner never to yeild for Darts or ‘ Wounds. This Alacrity amaz'd the *Roman* ‘ General: The River before them, the Ram- ‘ pier upon the Hill, the Mountains hanging ‘ over them, every Place hazardous, and fill'd ‘ with Defendants, made the Onset terrible. ‘ But the Soldiers began to demand the Signal, ‘ and to cry out, that every thing might be o- ‘ vercome by Valour; the *Prefects* and *Tribunes* ‘ discours'd also after the same manner, and ‘ sufficiently warm'd the whole Army. Then ‘ *Ostorius* having view'd the Passes and Avenues, ‘ leads on his Soldiers whilst they were in the ‘ Heat, and with no great Difficulty passes the ‘ River.

‘ When

'When he came to the Rampart, within the Reach of their Darts, many of our Men were wounded, and some slain: But making a Roof over their Heads with their Shields, they came up close, and broke the ill-compacted Stones, so that they could fight Hand to Hand: Upon this the *Barbarians* retir'd to the top of the Mountains. Even hither did the heavy as well as the light-arm'd Soldiers pursue; these insulting them with their Darts, and these pressing hard upon the disorder'd Ranks of the *Britains*, who had no Breast-plates nor Head-pieces: If they went to oppose the Auxiliaries, they were beat down by the Swords and Piles of the Legionaries; if they turn'd against them, the Auxiliaries stabb'd 'em with their Bagonets and Spears. 'Twas a glorious Victory; the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* was taken, and his Brothers surrendred up themselves. Chap III.

'When he implor'd the Protection of *Carthismandua*, Queen of * *Brigantes*, he was bound and deliver'd up to the Conquerors (such Dealings do the unfortunate usually find) in the Ninth Year after the War began in *Britain*. His Fame, which had been spread over the Islands and Neighbouring Provinces, at last reach'd *Italy*: People long'd to see who he was that for so many Years had despis'd our Forces. The Name of *Caractacus* was not ignoble at *Rome*. Whilst *Cæsar* extoll'd his own Honour, he added Glory to the conquered. The People were call'd out as to the most glorious Show. The *Pretorian* Cohorts stood to their Arms in a Field before their Camp; then as the King's Servants walk on, the Furniture, the Chains, and all that was taken in

* *The People of* Yorkshire.

Chap. III

'the War, was carried in Procession: After this 'followed the Brothers, the Wife, and the 'Daughter: Last of all [the King] himself 'was expos'd to View. All of them appear'd 'as if Fear had made them humble Supplicants, 'except *Caractacus*, who without any thing of 'a dejected Countenance, or one Word to move 'Pity, stood before the Tribunal, and made this 'Speech.

'*If my Moderation in Prosperity had been as* '*great as my Nobility and Fortune, I shall come* 'rather as a Friend than a Captive into this Ci- 'ty: Nor would you have disdain'd an Alliance 'with one that was born of so great a Paren- 'tage, and rul'd over so many Nations. As 'my present Condition is disgraceful to me, so 'tis glorious to you. I had Horses, and Men, 'and Arms, and Riches. Can you think it strange 'that I was unwilling to lose them? Would you 'not rule over all, that all might be your Slaves? 'If I had presently surrendred, neither my For- 'tune nor your Glory had been so eminent. Obli- 'vion will obliterate my Punishment; but if you 'do preserve me, I shall be an Eternal Example 'of your Clemency.* At this *Cæsar* pardon'd him, 'his Wife and Brothers: Being discharg'd of 'their Bonds, they went and paid the same 'Thanks and Veneration to [the Empress] *A-* 'grippina (who sate upon an exalted Throne) 'as they gave to the Prince himself. A new 'Sight, and never known to the Ancients, that 'a Woman should preside over the *Roman* En- 'signs: But she behav'd her self as an Associate 'in that Empire, which had been rais'd by her 'Ancestors. The Fathers were after call'd toge- 'ther, who spoke many high and magnificent 'Things upon the Captivity of *Caractacus*, and

'said

'ſaid it was no leſs glorious than when P. *Sci-* Chap. III.
'*pio* had preſented *Syphax*, L. *Paulus Perſes*,
'and others the conquer'd Kings, to the *Roman*
'People.

'Triumphal Ornaments were decreed to *O-*
'*ſtorius*, whoſe Affairs were then proſperous,
'but a little after doubtful: Whether it was
'that *Caractacus* being carried away our Care
'of the War was not ſo great, or that the Ene-
'mies, in Commiſeration of ſo great a King, were
'more eagerly bent upon Revenge. They ſet
'upon the Prefect of the Camp, and thoſe Co-
'horts which were left to build Forts among
'the * *Silures*: And unleſs preſent Relief had
'come from the Neighbouring Towns and Ca-
'ſtles thoſe Forces had been all cut off: How-
'ever, the *Prefect* and *Centurions*, the moſt for-
'ward among the Soldiers, were ſlain. And it
'was not long after that they fell upon our
'Foragers, and beat the Troops that were ſent to
'guard them. Then *Oſtorius* drew out the Co-
'horts; nor had he with them been able to
'make a Stand, if he had not been ſupported by
'the Legions: Their Strength poiz'd the Bat-
'tle, and at laſt got the better. The Enemies
'eſcap'd without much Loſs, becauſe the Day
'was almoſt ſhut up. After this there were
'many Skirmiſhes; it often look'd more like a
'Robbery than a War; in Woods and Marſhes,
'where ſometimes Fortune, ſometimes Valour,
'prevail'd; ſometimes Raſhneſs, ſometimes Pru-
'dence, had the better; ſometimes Anger, ſome-
'time Booty, drew them out; they went ſome-
'times with, and ſometimes without Command
'of their Officers. The Obſtinacy of the *Si-*
'*lures* was the greateſt, who were enrag'd at
'a Saying of the *Roman* Emperor, which was

* South-Wales.

Chap. III.

'reported to them, that as the * *Sygambri* were 'rooted up, and transplanted into *Gaul*, so the 'very Name of the *Silures* should be utterly ex- 'tinguished. They intercepted Two Auxiliary 'Cohorts, which by the Covetousness of their '*Prefects* imprudently run too far after the 'Plunder. They bestow'd their Spoils and Pri- 'soners in the neighbouring Countries, which 'drew them also into a Revolt, till at last *Osto-* '*rius*, tir'd out with a long Course of Cares, 'ended this Life: The Enemies rejoicing, that 'if not a Battle, yet the War, had worn out a 'General who was not to be despis'd.

'*Cæsar*, being acquainted with the Death of 'his Lieutenant, sent *A. Didius*, that the Province 'might not be without a Governour. He made 'haste into it, but found Things in no very good 'Condition, for One Legion, which *Manlius* '*Valens* commanded, was worsted in a Fight; 'and the Fame of it was very much encreas'd 'by the Enemies, that they might terrifie the 'General at his first Arrival: He himself also 'was for augmenting what he heard, that he 'might gain a greater Reputation by composing 'those Troubles, or if they continued, he might 'have the better Excuse.

'Thus the *Silures* went on, insulting and do- 'ing Mischief, till they were driven back by 'the coming up of *Didius*.

'After the taking of *Caractacus*, *Venusius* 'of the City of the * *Brigantes* had the greatest 'Renown for Military Affairs: He was a good 'while faithful to the *Romans*, and defended by 'their Arms; but having Married Queen *Car-* '*thismandua*, there was presently a Disagree- 'ment between them, and afterwards a War; 'at last [*Venusius*] committed Hostilities against 'us.

* *People between the Meuse and the Rhine.*

* *The People of Yorkshire.*

'us. The Contention at firſt was only Dome- Chap. III.
'ſtick, but *Carthiſmandua* by her Intriegues in-
'tercepting the Brothers and Relations of *Venu-*
'*ſius*, they became open Enemies: A ſtout and
'choſen Company of young Men got into Arms,
'and under Pretence that they ſcorn'd to be
'ſubject to the Government of a Woman, in-
'vaded her Kingdom. This we foreſaw, and
'we ſent ſome Cohorts to their Aſſiſtance: They
'had a ſharp Engagement; in the beginning of
'it the Succeſs ſeem'd dubious, but it had a
'happy Concluſion. With like good Succeſs
'did that Legion prevail, which was command-
'ed by *Ceſius Naſica*: For *Didius* being loaded
'with old Age, and a Heap of Honours, thought
'it enough to act by others, and to reſtrain the
'Enemy by his Officers. Theſe Things, which
'were done by the Two Pro-pretors, *Oſtorius*
'and *Didius*, though tranſacted in ſeveral Years,
'I have thought fit to join together: For if
'they had been divided, the Memory would
'not have been ſo well able to retain them.

We have nothing more that is conſiderable, till the War which *Boadicea*, made upon the *Romans* under *Suetonius Paulinus* in the time of *Nero:* There were ſuch vaſt Numbers of them ſlain, that we may be ſure they did not only Traffick in this *Iſland*, but that their Colonies and Plantations were very populous, as we ſhall ſee by the following Account, which our Excellent Hiſtorian gives.

'* *Ceſonius Petus* and *Petronius Turpilianus* *Tacit. Annal. *Lib.* 14. *Cap.* 29.
'being Conſuls in the Year of our Lord 61, a
'dreadful Slaughter was made in *Britain*. *A-*
'*vitus*, who was Lieutenant there, had but re-
'tain'd what was got before: His Succeſſor *Ve-*
'*rannius*, with ſome ſmall Excurſions, had diſ-

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'peopled the Woods, but was ſtopt by Death 'from carrying the War any further. He had a 'great Reputation for Severity whilſt he liv'd, 'but by his laſt Will he diſcover'd his Ambi- 'tion; for therein he very much flatter'd *Nero*, 'that if he had liv'd but Two Years longer, he 'would have made the whole *Iſland* ſubmit to 'him as One *Province*.

'But then *Suetonius Paulinus* obtain'd the 'Government of the *Britains:* A Rival to *Cor-* '*bulo*, in the Skill of War and Vogue of the 'People, who ſuffer no Body to be without a 'Competitor: His Deſire was by ſubduing the 'Rebellious to equal the Glory of *Armenia*, late- 'ly reduc'd; he therefore makes Preparations to 'ſet upon the Iſle of *Angleſey*, which was ſtrong 'with the Inhabitants, and alſo a Receptacle for 'Fugitives: He built his Veſſels with flat Bot- 'toms, providing againſt a ſhallow and uncertain 'Shore. Thus the Foot were to be tranſported: 'The Horſe were to follow by a Ford, or to ſwim 'amidſt the deeper Waves.

'Upon the Shore there ſtood a very different 'Army: The *Men* advanc'd their Weapons, the '*Women* run up and down among them, after 'the manner of *Furies*, carrying Firebrands, with 'their Hair diſhevell'd, in a diſmal Garb. The '*Druidæ* ſtood round about, with their Hands 'lifted up, pouring out direful Curſes to the 'Heavens. The Soldiers were ſtruck with A- 'mazement at the Horror of ſo ſtrange a Specta- 'cle; they ſtood as if they would offer their Bo- 'dies without Reſiſtance to the Swords of the 'Enemy. But the General ſtirring them up, 'and they themſelves diſdaining to fear ſuch a '*Womaniſh* and *Phanatical* Crew, advanc'd their '*Standards*, overthrew all they met, and em-

'barraſs'd

'baraſs'd them in their own Fire. Garriſons 'were put into their Towns, their Groves cut 'up, which had been conſecrated to cruel Su-'perſtitions. For they think it a Religious Du-'ty to make their Altars ſmoke with the Blood 'of Captives, and to conſult the Gods by En-'trails of Men. Chap. III.

'Whilſt *Suetonius* was thus employ'd, News 'was brought of a ſuddain Revolt of the Pro-'vince. *Praſutagus*, King of the * *Iceni*, famous 'for his great Riches, had by his Will made '*Cæſar* and his Two Daughters Heirs; reckon-'ing by ſuch Obſequiouſneſs to ſecure both 'his Kingdom and his Family from all manner 'of Injury: Which prov'd quite contrary, for 'his Kingdom was laid waſte by Centurions, 'and his Houſe by the Emperor's Servants, as if 'they had been the Spoils of War. Firſt, his 'Wife *Boadicea* was Whipt, and then his Daugh-'ters Raviſhed: The chief of the *Iceni* had 'their Paternal Eſtates confiſcated, as if the 'whole Country had been but one Deed of Gift, 'and the King's Relations accounted no more 'than Slaves.

* Norfolk, Suffolk *and* Eſſex.

'By which Sufferings, and for fear of greater, '(being reduc'd into the Form of a Province) 'they fly to their Arms, and ſtirring up the '* *Trinobantes* to partake with them in their 'Rebellion, with as many others as were not 'tam'd by Servitude, they enter into ſecret Con-'ſpiracies for reſuming their Liberty, having a 'bitter Hatred againſt the *Veterans*. For thoſe 'that were lately brought into the Colony of '**Camalodunum*, turn'd them out of their Houſes 'drove them out of their Feilds, call'd them 'Capitives and Slaves: The Soldiers alſo en-'couraged the Ravage of the *Veterans*, hoping

* *The People of* Middleſex.

* Malden *in* Eſſex.

Chap. III.

'that they themſelves might enjoy the like
'Licentiouſneſs. Beſides, there was a Temple
'Dedicated to *Claudius*, which they look'd up-
'on as an Altar of Eternal Domination: Prieſts
'were choſen for it, who under Pretence of
'Religion muſt ſpend their whole Eſtates. Nor
'did it ſeem any hard Matter to deſtroy a Colo-
'ny, which was not yet ſecur'd by any Forti-
'fications: For our Commanders had been more
'concern'd to make the Place pleaſant than
'uſeful.

'At which time theſe Prodigies alſo hap-
'pen'd: An Image of Victory placed at *Camalo-*
'*dunum* fell down without any apparent Cauſe,
'and turn'd its Back as if it yielded to the Enemy.
'Women in an extatical Fury ſung the approach-
'ing Deſtruction: The Murmurs of the *Barba-*
'*rians* were heard in the Court, and the Thea-
'tre reſounded with Howlings. There was an
'Impreſſion upon the Strand, which repreſented
'a Colony overturn'd. The Ocean appear'd of
'a Bloody Colour; and when the Tide went
'out, the Shapes of Mens Bodies were left.
'Theſe Things rais'd a Courage in the *Britains*,
'and ſunk the *Veterans* with Fear.

'*Suetonius* being a great way off, they deſir'd
'the Procurator *Catus Decianus* to come and
'defend 'em. He ſent not above Two Hundred,
'and thoſe not well arm'd, which were all,
'beſides a ſmall Garriſon, who relied upon the
'Strength of the Temple. There were alſo
'ſome Secret Favourers of the Conſpiracy,
'who put by the moſt advantageous Advice,
'inſomuch that they took no Care to ſecure
'themſelves, by drawing a Ditch and Rampier
'before them, nor by putting out the old Men
'and Women, to keep only the vigorous Youth

'for

for the Defence of the Place. As careleſs they were, as in the midſt of Peace, and thus were they ſurrounded by a Multitude of the *Barbarians*. Chap. III.

'All was taken and burnt in the violent Onſet, except the Temple, into which the Soldiers had throng'd, that held out a Siege of Two Days, but then was taken by Storm. The Victorious *Britain* marches from thence to meet *Petus Cerealis*, who commanded the Ninth Legion, and was coming up to their Aſſiſtance: But the Legion was routed, all the Foot ſlain, and *Cerealis* with his Horſe eſcaped to the Camp, where he defended himſelf by the Fortifications. The Procurator *Catus* was conſcious of ſo much Miſchief he had done to the Province, and how much he was hated by it, as alſo with what Covetouſneſs he had managed the War, that he fled over into *Gaul*.

'*Suetonius* with an admirable Conſtancy marches to *London* through the midſt of his Enemies, not famous indeed for the Sirname of a Colony, but moſt celebrated for abundance of Merchants to Traffick. He was doubtful whether he ſhould chuſe this for the Seat of War; but conſidering the ſmall Number of his Soldiers, and being ſufficiently warn'd againſt Raſhneſs by the ſad Example of *Petilius*, he reſolves to ſave all by the Loſs of one Town. Nor could he be mov'd by the Entreaties and Tears of thoſe that implor'd his Aid, but order'd the March to beat, only receiving thoſe into his Troops who were willing to bear him Company: Thoſe whom the Sex unfit for War, or weariſome old

Chap. III. ‘ old Age, or the Dearneſs of the Place detain'd
‘ all fell under the Fury of the Enemy.

‘ The ſame Slaughter was made at the fre
‘ Town *Verulam*: For the *Barbarians*, paſſing
‘ by the Caſtles and Garriſons, ſpoil'd wher
‘ there was the beſt Plunder, which they car
‘ ried into Places of Safety, being more deſirou
‘ of the Booty than the Toils of War. It i
‘ certain that no leſs than Threeſcore and Te
‘ Thouſand *Roman* Citizens and Allies were ſlai
‘ in thoſe Places here mentioned. They di
‘ not endeavour to take, and ſell, and drive th
‘ common Exchange of War, but there were al
‘ ſorts of Croſſes, Fire and Slaughter, as if the
‘ were executing by Way of Puniſhment, an
‘ made haſte, as afraid that Vengeance ſhoul
‘ be ſnatch'd out of their Hands.

‘ *Suetonius* had with him only the Fourteent
‘ Legion, ſome Standards of the Twentieth, an
‘ the neareſt Auxiliaries, all which amounted t
‘ but about Ten Thouſand Men well armed
‘ yet he would not delay, but provides to com
‘ to a Battle. He choſe a Place that had a nar
‘ row Entrance, ſhut up with a Wood upon hi
‘ Back: So that he was to have the Enemy on
‘ ly in his Front, and that the open Plain woul
‘ not be capable of an Ambuſh. The Legiona
‘ ry Soldiers ſtood thick in their Ranks, ſur
‘ rounded by the Light arm'd, the Horſe mad
‘ the Wings.

‘ But the Forces of the *Britains* run about i
‘ Troops and Companies with their Huzza's
‘ Such a Multitude as no where elſe had bee
‘ ſeen: And they were ſo outrageouſly elevated
‘ that they brought their Wives along with them
‘ to be Witneſſes of the Victory: Theſe were
‘ placed upon Waggons, which compaſſed th
‘ furtheſt Part of the Field. *Boadicea*

'*Boadicea* riding in her Chariot, and placing her Daughters before her, as she came to each Nation said, *That it was the Custom of the* Britains *to war under the Conduct of Women; but now she would not mention her Descent from the most Noble Ancestors, her Kingdom, or her Riches, but as one of them she came to revenge her lost Liberty, her Body torn with Stripes, and the violated Chastity of her Daughters. The Lust of the* Romans *was now grown to that Height, as neither Old Age nor Virginity could be safe. But the Gods would be favourable to their just Revenge: That Legion, which dar'd to fight, had fallen before them: The rest either hid themselves in their Camps, or were contriving how to fly. They would be never able to endure the Noise and Shouts of so many Thousands, much less their Force and Blows. If they consider'd the Incitements to this War, they would find themselves oblig'd either to conquer or die in this Battle. Thus a Woman had resolv'd; the Men might live, and be Slaves, if they pleas'd.* Chap. III.

'*Suetonius*, upon so great an Occasion, was not silent: He was well assur'd of the Valour of his Soldiers, yet he thought to add both Entreaties and Encouragements. *That they should despise the noisie and empty Threats of the* Barbarians: *They might see there more of Feminine Fury, than Juvenile Vigour. They would find that they were unwarlike, unarm'd, ready to yeild, so soon as they (who had been often beat) felt the Steel and Valour of the Conquerors. In many Legions a few Brave Men won the Battle: It must therefore certainly be much to their Glory, that an handful of Men should gain the Reputation of an entire Army.*

'*That*

Chap. III.

'*That they should stand close together*; *and h*
'*ving spent their Javelins, push on the Figh*
'*and Slaughter with their Swords and Buckler*
'*That they should not mind the Plunder*; *fo*
'*when they had once got the Victory all woul*
'*be theirs.* Such an Ardency was rais'd by thes
'Words of the General, and the old Soldier
'experienc'd in many Battles, set himself i
'such a Readiness, that *Suetonius*, sure of Vi
'ctory, gave the Sign to fall on.

'First, There were the Legionary Soldiers
'standing immovable; then after the Enemy
'was come nearer, and they had spent their
'Javelins with certain Execution, they broke
'out in the Form of a Wedge. The Auxiliaries
'acted with the same Vigour; and the Horse-
'men thrusting on with their Spears, broke
'through all that was able to make any Resi-
'stance. The Enemy was totally routed, but
'their Escape was difficult, because the Waggons
'round about had hedg'd them in.

'The Soldiers could not forbear even the
'Slaughter of the Women, and the Horses
'pierc'd with Darts augmented the Heap of the
'Carcasses. There was a Glorious Victory got
'that Day, and equal to such as Antiquity
'boasts of. No less than Fourscore Thousand
'of the *Britains* were slain, of our Soldiers but
'Four Hundred, and about as many wounded.
'*Boadicea* put an end to her Life by Poison.

Such were the intolerable Injuries of *Nero's* Officers, that it is no wonder if the * *Trinobantes* themselves revolted from the *Roman* Government: Robbery, and Tortures, and Ravishings, are so contrary to the Laws of Nature, that when Authority permits them, Authority cuts its own Throat. It is rather to be admir'd that

* *The People of* Middlesex.

hat the *Londoners* ſtill ſtuck cloſe to the *Ro-* Chap. III.
ans, and run the Riſque of being deſtroy'd, rather than to join with their Countrymen to expel their new Lords out of *Britain*.

Certainly it ſhews there was a great Difference between thoſe that managed the Trade of the Nation, and thoſe that liv'd in the Country after the manner of the *Britains*.

But the vaſt Number of *Roman* Citizens and Allies, which were ſlain in thoſe Three Places, *London*, *Verulam* and *Camalodunum*, may ſufficiently prove how conſiderable a Part of the Inhabitants of this Iſland they were. *Dio Caſſius* relating this Hiſtory makes them Ten Thouſand more. Μυριάδας ὀκτὼ τῶν Ρωμαίχων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων· Eight Myriads, or FourſcoreThouſand *Romans*, or ſuch as took Part with them. They could not be all *Roman* Soldiers and Auxiliaries, for then they had undoubtedly fought, and prevented their Deſtruction, ſince *Suetonius* was able withTenThouſand Men to defeat all the Power of the *Britains*: And if the greateſt Part of them were Natives, we may be convinc'd how many of them there were who gave themſelves up to Civility, and would not be brought to fall in with thoſe Barbarities, for which the *Picts* were Eminent.

It may be thought that ſo great a Maſſacre of *Romans* might reduce that People to an inconſiderable Number: But then we muſt know that it was the Cuſtom of *Rome*, when any Colony wanted Inhabitants, to fill them up again out of their own City. * *Livy* gives us an Example of this, 'Poſtulantibus à Senatu Aquileienſium Legatis, ut Colonorum Numerum Augeret, mille & quingentæ familiæ ex ſenatus conſulto ſcriptæ.

* *Hiſt. Lib.* 64.

'The

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'The Ambassadors of *Aquileia* entreating to 'augment the Number of those who belong'd 'to the Colony, a Thousand and Five Hun- 'ded Families were listed by Decree of the Se- 'nate. So many Colonies being planted in this Island, carefully provided for and recruited, and their Continance here being for above Four Hundred Years, it is certain the *Romans* may vie with any other Plantation of People which ever came hither.

Having seen the State of *Britain* in the Reign of *Nero*, it may be very proper to speak, not only of the Plantation of the *Roman* People, but of the Christian Religion here. * The Learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* collects out of *Gildas*, the most Ancient and Authentick *British* Writer, that *the Gospel was here received before the fatal Defeat of the* Britains *by* Suetonius Paulinus.

* *Antiquit. Br. Church*, p. 43.

'That it was planted here by the *Apostles*, 'but by none so probably as Saint *Paul*. Indeed those that have a Mind to make St. *Peter* the Sovereign Apostle of the World, are much against St. *Paul*'s planting Churches in the West; but it being his Design to do so, * (having resolv'd upon a Journey into *Spain*) and *the Gospel of the Uncircumcision* being *committed to* † him, as *the Gospel of the Circumcision* was to *Peter*, makes it undeniable that St. *Paul*'s Province lay in the *West*, as St. *Peter*'s did in the *East*, where the *Jews* were dispers'd. So that setting aside the Contest of St. *Peter*'s Papacy, and the Romances of *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, which have been brought for the Reputation of *Glassenbury*, St. *Paul*'s Title will be clear as to the Conversion of *Britain*.

* Rom. 15. 24.

† Gal. 2. 7.

'No

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Nothing of this Nature can be more clearly demonstrated than this Assertion is by our Learned Author: But because a great Cumber of Learning is requisite to the full Support of the Proposition, and answering all Objections, we will give an Account of what is plain and evident, referring the Curious to his own most Elaborate Discourse.

The Matter of Fact that St. *Paul* preached here is proved by * *Theodoret*, a Learned and Judicious Church Historian, who among the Nations converted by the *Apostles*, expresly names the *Britains*, and after he had mention'd *Spain*, * adds, that *St.* Paul *brought Salvation to the Islands that lye in the Ocean*, which is agreeable to what *Eusebius* says of the *Apostles*, that some passed over the Ocean, ἐπὶ τὰς καλουμένας βρεττανικὰς νήσους, to those which are called the *British* Islands.

* *St. Jerome saith, that St.* Paul *having been in* Spain, *went from one Ocean to another, imitating the Motion and Course of the Sun of Righteousness, of whom it is said, his going forth is from the End of Heaven, and his Circuit unto the Ends of it, and that his Diligence in preaching extended as far as the Earth it self.* Which are more indefinite Expressions; but elsewhere he saith, that * *St.* Paul *after his Imprisonment preached the Gospel in the Western Parts.* By which the *British* Islands are more especially understood; as will appear by the following Testimony of * *Clemens Romanus*, who saith, that *St.* Paul *preached Righteousness through the whole World, and in so doing went* ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως, to the utmost Bounds of the West.

That we may have the better Assurance in these Authorities, he adds such concurrent Probabilities,

* *To.* 4. *Serm.* 9. p. 610.

† *To.* 1. *in* Psal. 116. p. 870.

* *In* Amos c. 5.

† De Script. Eccl.

* Epist. ad Corinth. p. 8.

Chap. III. babilities, as may make us readily yeild to them. St. *Paul* had Leisure and Opportunity enough to come hither to Preach the Gospel; for he was releas'd from his first Imprisonment at *Rome* in the 5th Year of *Nero*'s Reign, and did not suffer Martyrdom till the 14th. According to the laborious Diligence he had us'd in the East, this Interval contain'd Time enough for him to plant Churches in *Spain*, *Gaul* and *Britain*. It cannot be imagin'd that he could be negligent in his *Apostleship* after he was releas'd; and where should He employ himself? When he took his Leave of the Churches in the East, he said, * *I know that ye all, among whom I have gone Preaching the Kingdom of God, shall see my Face no more.* He must therefore spend those Nine Years in these *Western* Parts, where he seems to have had, particularly in *Britain*, Incouragement and Invitation enough.

* Acts 20. 25.

There was a very great Correspondence all the Days of *Claudius* and *Nero* between *Rome* and *Britain*; the *Roman* Armies were sent over hither, and Care taken to make Provision for them: Many Officers, both Civil and Military, arriv'd here, not only for the Management of the War, but to Establish Trade and Government. So that all those, who were in the Dominions of the *Romans*, especially such as were in the Imperial City, had very easie Access to this Island.

It cannot be thought that St. *Paul*, who had so great a Concern for all the Churches planted by him, should neglect the Opportunity of planting more; for this was he *pressed in Spirit*, and for this only did he desire to Live; for otherwise it would, as he knew, have been a greater *Gain* to him to *Die*. And there was also

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ſo now at *Rome* thoſe that might earneſtly incite him to this his ſo much deſir'd Work. His Acquaintance was great, even with thoſe of *Cæſar*'s Houſhold; and we cannot ſuppoſe that whilſt he *Dwelt* there *Two whole Years in his own hired Houſe*, that there could be any Chriſtian of Quality unknown to him. Particularly * our learned Biſhop thinks that 'St. *Paul* 'might have ſome Encouragement at *Rome* to 'come hither from *Pomponia Græcina*, Wife to '*A. Plautius*, the *Roman* Lieutenant, under *Claudius* in *Britain*. For that ſhe was a Chriſtian 'appears very probable from the Account *Taci*-'*tus* gives of her. His Words are theſe: *Pomponia Græcina, inſignis fæmina, Plautio (qui ovans ſe de Britanniis retulit) nupta, ac Superſtitionis externæ rea, mariti judicio permiſſa. Iſq; priſco inſtituto, propinquis coram, de capite famâq; conjugis cognovit: Et inſontem nuntiavit.* 'Pomponia *Græcina*, an Eminent Woman, Mar-'ried to *Plautus*, (who return'd in an Ovation 'out of the *Britannies*) was guilty of a Foreign 'Superſtition; ſhe was left to the Judiciary 'Sentence of her Husband: Who, according to 'the Ancient Conſtitution, ſet upon the Life 'and Reputation of his Wife in the Preſence 'of her Relations, and pronounc'd her Guilt-'leſs. She liv'd long after, but in perpetual 'Sadneſs. If *Tacitus* were to deſcribe the Pri-'mitive *Chriſtians*, he would have done it juſt 'after this manner, charging their Religion 'with Superſtition, and the Severity of their 'Lives (abſtaining from all the Feaſts and Jol-'lities of the *Romans*) as a continual Soli-'tude.

* *Antiq. Brit. Church*, p. 43.

Chap. III. We have an Account of another Christian Lady, a *Britain* by Birth, Married to *Pudens* a *Roman*, from *Martial*; a more Jolly Author, who did not value Religion so much as to abate the Character of her Vertue, though it might not be the same with his. He flourished indeed Ten Years after *Nero*, but his *Epigrams* may well be supposed to be a Collection of Poems, which he had formerly made upon several Occasions. We may see from him both her Birth and Marriage.

* Lib. 11. *Epigr.* 54. * Claudia *cæruleis cum sit* Ruffina Britannis
Nata, cur Latiæ *pectora plebis habet?*

Though Claudia *from Blue* Britains *did Descend,*
She has the Virtues of a Roman *Mind.*

* Lib. 4. *Epigr.* 13. * Claudia, Rufe, *meo nubit peregrina* Pudenti:
Macte esto tædis, O Hymenæe; *tuis.*

Now Foreign Claudia's *to my* Pudens *Wed,*
Hymen, *be pleas'd to Bless their Nuptial Bed.*

The Expression of *Cærulei*, or Blue *Britains* does particularly signifie the Tincture of the Wood, which was peculiar to them; but the Excellency of an *Italian* Breast implied a Mind adorn'd with all that Goodness and Virtue which the World admir'd. * St. *Paul* mentioning both *Pudens* and *Claudia* together in his last Epistle to *Timothy*, which was Written but a little before his own and *Nero*'s Death, makes it very Credible that they were the same Persons mentioned there: And then we may be sure that she was as Eminent for Christianity, as for other Virtues. Thus soon do we meet with so consider-

* 2 Tim. 4. 21.

rable

rable Alliance between the *Romans* and *Britains*, which being contracted in the Capital of the Empire, we have Reaſon to expect that it ſhould be much more purſued to the Province it ſelf. The *Romans* had many great Colonies, whoſe Inhabitants were all poſſeſs'd with good Eſtates, to invite the *Britiſh* Ladies to the Enjoyment of all that Humane Life afforded: And *Britain* is ſituated in ſuch an Excellent Climate (which all the World over has the chief Influence upon Beauty) that her Women have been everywhere admir'd. There muſt certainly have been ſomething here Extraordinary in this Sex, which has made this Iſland have a peculiar Regard to the Female Succeſſion, which they ever readily embrac'd from *Boadicea* to Queen *Anne*. But at the firſt Settlement of the *Roman* Government, nothing could be more advantageous to the happy and real Union of Two Nations than their Intermarriages. Chap. III.

We need mention only the Grand Alliance between the Emperor *Conſtantius Chlorus*, and *Helena*, the Daughter of the *Britiſh* King *Coilus*, by which the Glorious Emperor *Conſtantine the Great* was Born here. Though the *Saxon* Hiſtorians were always unwilling to Relate any thing that was to the Honour of the *Britains*, yet they could not ſuffer the Memory of this to be loſt. * *William* of *Malmesbury* Relates it as the Account which was always receiv'd here. * *Henry* of *Huntingdon* is pleaſed to enlarge upon that Honour, which this Iſland receiv'd. '*Helena, Britanniæ nobilis alumna, Londoniam muro, qui adhuc ſupereſt, cinxiſſe fertur, & Colceſtriam mænibus adornâſſe: Helena*, the Noble Off ſpring of *Britain*, is ſaid to have ſurrounded *London* with their Wall, which ſtill continues, and alſo to have adorn'd *Colcheſter*

Constantine a britain

* Lib. 4. de regibus Anglorum.
* *Hiſtor.* lib. 1.

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'with Walls. Then speaking of her Son Con-
'stantine, *Constantinus flos Britanniæ, regnavit*
'30 *Annis & 10 Mensibus: Hic igitur Britanni-*
'*cus genere & patriâ, ante quem nec post simili*
'*est egressus de Britanniâ: Constantine*, the Flowe
'of *Britain*, Reign'd Thirty Years and Te
'Months: He was a *Britain* both by Parentag
'and Country: Neither before nor since him
'did *Britain* ever produce the like.

A Woman of such Glorious Memory has in-deed been claim'd by other Nations; *Trier* pretends to her Birth; and those that hated he *Christian* Piety, would both destroy her Reputa-tion, and remove her as far from us as *Persia*. But those Reports are so Faint that they cannot stand in Competition with a Tradition which the World is so well agreed in. However, we may take an Account of these Stories from

* *Cronic. par.* 15. & 20.

* *Gotofrid of Viterbo.* 'Constantius Married
'*Helena*, the Daughter of a *British* King, his
'Name was *Coilus*, but he died before they
'were Married: Of her *Constantius* begot *Con-*
'*stantine*; and then giving an Account of the
'other Reports, he adds. Some say she had her
'Birth at *Triers*; and 'tis also said, that *Con-*
'*stantine* was a Bastard Son of *Helen* an Ho-
'stess, Born upon the Borders of *Persia*, whilst
'his Father *Constantius* was employ'd there a
'gathering the Publick Tributes.

This Sham of an Hostess, which the Enemies of our Religion invented, * St. *Ambrose* was pleased to descant upon. 'They say she was
'at first an Hostess, and so came to be known
'by *Constantius* the Elder, who afterwards ob-
'tain'd the Empire. Surely she was a good Ho-
'stess, who so diligently sought the *Manger* of
'our Lord: A good Hostess, who was not Ig-
'norant

* Ambros. Orat. de obitu Theodosii.

norant of him that was Born in a Stable, and cur'd the Wounds of the Man that fell among Thieves: A good Hoſteſs, who choſe to be eſteem'd as Dung, that ſhe might gain Chriſt. Chap III.

It is certain that *Helen* had as great a Reputation for her Religion as for her Nobility; and being the Mother of ſuch a Glorious Emperor, rais'd the *Britiſh* Name to the higheſt Honour: No Alliance ever prov'd more Happy than this, whereby our Countrymen became Maſter of the World, and made all the Idols of the Heathen fall before the Croſs of Chriſt.

If a Man would have a true Notion of the Numbers of the *Romans* who planted here, he muſt well conſider thoſe Eight and Twenty Cities and Colonies which flouriſhed in their Time, and ſome of them known by the Name of Colonies. *Colcheſter* moſt Eminently, except it be derived from *Coilus*, the Father of *Helena*: Then *Lindi Colonia*, which contracted, gives us the Name of *Lincoln* at this Day. *Cheſter* is well known to be the Seat of the Twentieth Legion, and the whole Town to have been a Corporation of the *Emeriti Legionum*, the Veterans who reſided here, and ſo, according to * *William* of *Malmesbury*, made a Military Colony.

* De geſt. Pontif. *lib.* 4.

Archbiſhop *Uſher*, to recover as much as poſſible the Knowledge of the Old *Britiſh* Biſhopricks, has out of Two Ancient Copies in the *Cotton* Library given us an exact Liſt of theſe Cities and Colonies. And for the Authority of their Juſt Number, cites both the Epiſtle of *Gildas*, and the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Bede*: One ſays that *Britain* was once Famous for Eight and Twenty the moſt Noble Cities: The other, who Bewails the Ruin of his Country, reckons it to be Adorn'd with Twice Ten, and Twice

Chap. III. Four Cities. So that the Settlement both of *Church* and *State* in the long Time of the *Roman* Goverment was probably the beſt that this Iſland ever knew.

The manner of ſetting out the Seat of a Colony we have deſcrib'd by * Mr. *Camden*, from a Coin of the Emperor *Claudius*: On one ſide it bears his Effigies with this Inſcription, *Ti. Claud. Cæſ. Aug. Ger. Fr. P. XII. Imp. XIIX.* Which, ſignifies that in the Twelfth Year of his Reign, he for a Victory, won in *Britain* was with Joyful Acclamations ſaluted *Imperator*, the Eighteenth Time: And on the other ſide, there being inſcrib'd *Col. Camalodon. Aug.* and a Husbandman ploughing with a Cow and a Bull, it ſignifies the manner how the Colony of *Camalodunum*, as all other *Roman* Colonies, had its Ground deſcrib'd by making a Furrow where the Walls were to ſtand, and holding up the Plough where the Gates ſhould be.

* Roman *Coins in* Brit. *pag.* 102.

The Territories which belong'd to theſe Places are of much more Importance than the Ground upon which they ſtood; for hereby we may know the Extent of their Juriſdiction, the Riches and the Revenues of the Inhabitants. An Account of this has been already given by * Dr. *Maurice*, who informs Mr. *Clarkſon* out of the Claſſical Authors what Circuit or Dioceſe was to be reckon'd to every City. By ſome Particular Inſtances we may gueſs at others. Nor can we ſuppoſe that the *Romans* had more Land to Beſtow in *Italy* than in other Places, and therefore an Example from thence may be ſafely followed when we conſider *Britain*.

*Def. Dioc. Epiſc. *pag.* 383.

'*Bononia* was a *Roman* Colony, and thoſe 'who were firſt ſent thither were but Three 'Thouſand: *Tria millia hominum ſunt deducta:*

Equi-

Equitibus 70 *jugera*; *cæteris* 50. Liv. Lib. 37. 'yet the Territory divided between them was 'very great, as will appear from the Lots of 'each Soldier: For every Footman had Fifty 'Acres, every Horſeman Seventy: But reckoning 'all as Foot, there will ariſe a Sum of an Hun-'dred and Fifty Thouſand Acres, which alone 'would be a Country equal to many of our 'Counties. But when you have added the Pub-'lick Eſtate, which always had a conſiderable 'Portion on theſe Occaſions; the Officers (who 'had always double to the common Soldiers) 'beſides the Waſtes and unprofitable Lands, '(which muſt be ſuppoſed in ſuch a Compaſs) 'ſuch a Territory will vye with our greateſt 'Counties.

* '*Thureum* had Three Thouſand Foot and 'Three Hundred Horſe ſent to it as a Colony: 'The Footmen had 40 Acres apeice, the Horſe-'men double, which comes but little ſhort of 'the reckoning of *Bononia*. This indeed was 'thought too much for the Number of the Peo-'ple, and therefore a Third Part was taken 'off, yet ſtill the Territory was very large.

'The *Veterans*, who had ſerved *Scipio Afri-'canus*, were drawn to † *Venuſia*, which had a 'great Territory, and had been diſpeopled in the 'Wars of *Hannibal*: The Soldiers had each 'Two Acres for every Year they had ſerved in 'thoſe Wars. But the greateſt yet is that of '**Aquileia*, whither 3000 Foot and 300 Horſe-'men were ſent for a Colony. The Foot had 50 'Acres each, the *Centurions* double, the Horſe-'men 140.

'In more remote Provinces the Territories of 'their Colonies ſeem to be yet larger, there 'was more Land to ſpare. And when they firſt

* Sigon. de Antiq. jure Ital. *Lib.* 1. Onuphr. Deſcript. Imp. Rom. *Lib.* 3. *Liv. Lib.* 34. Strab. *Lib.* 6.

† *Liv. Lib.* 31.

* Liv. *Lib.* 39, *and* 40. Sigon. de Antiq. jure Ital. *Lib.* 1.

Chap. III. ‘ planted in a conquer'd Country, they did not ‘ only take in so much of the Country as that ‘ new Colony could use, but according to their ‘ Hopes of future Encrease.

The State of these Cities and Colonies in *Constantine*'s Time, when Christianity rose out of Persecution, and first shew'd that Beautiful Face, which had been form'd by the *Apostles*, and continued by those that succeeded them, will acquaint us what was the true Constitution of the Church, before either the Pomps and Vanities of this World had corrupted it, or a Pretence to remedy that Corruption, had run into the contrary Extreme.

The Learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* has so Judiciously collected the Matter of Fact, that it cannot be better given than in his own Words.

* *Antiquit. Br. Churches*, p. 75. ‘ * The first Evidence we meet with of the settled Condition of the *British* Churches is the ‘ Number of Bishops which went from *Britain* ‘ to the Council of *Arles*, *Anno Domini* 314, ‘ where we find Three Bishops subscribing to it, ‘ *Eborius*, Bishop of *York*, *Restitutus*, Bishop ‘ of *London*, and *Adelphius*, de civitate *Colonia Londinensium*. The Learned Primate, ‘ *Usser* de Prim. *p.* 6. thinks it to be *Colchester*; ‘ that being called in *Antoninus*, *Colonia*. But ‘ I think a far more probable Sense may be given ‘ of it, if we consider the Way of summoning ‘ Bishops to Councils at that time.

† *Antiquit. Br. Churches*, p. 76. ‘ † Since the other Two Bishops were out ‘ of the other Two Provinces, *Maxima Cesariensis* ‘ and *Britannia Prima*, the third Bishop, was out ‘ of the Third Province of *Britannia Secunda*, ‘ wherein there were Two noted Colonies: ‘ The one call'd *Colonia Divana*, in the Coin ‘ of *Septimius Geta*, and *Civitas Legionem* in

‘ *Bede*,

'*Bede*, Lib. 2. Cap. 2. now *Cheſter*: The other, *Civitas Legionis ad Iſcam*, where was a Colony of the 11th Legion, which Province was ſometimes called *Britannia Secunda*: And therefore this Biſhop *Adelphius* came *ex Civit. Col. Leg.* 11. Which the Ignorant Tranſcribers might eaſily turn to *ex Civit. Col. Londin.* There being then but Three Biſhops preſent at the Council of *Arles*, is ſo far from being an Argument that there were no more in *Britain*, that it is rather an Argument to the contrary, ſince it was the Cuſtom to ſend but One or Two out of a Province, where they were more numerous; and I ſee no Reaſon to queſtion a Succeſſion of Biſhops here, from the firſt founding of a Chriſtian Church. To prove this I ſhall relye upon the Reaſon of the Thing, there being no other Church in the Chriſtian World, which derived from the *Apoſtles*, which had not a Succeſſion of Biſhops from them too; and we cannot trace the Hiſtory of other Churches farther than we can do that of their Biſhops. Chap. III.

Conſtantine reſolves to give a greater Settlement and Satisfaction to the Chriſtian Church all over the World; and therefore he ſends his Edicts to ſummon the Biſhops ἀπανλαχόθεν and πανλαχῆ, everywhere, and in all Provinces of the Empire, to a General Council at *Nice*; that being juſt come out of Perſecution, and uncorrupted by the World, they might give in that Doctrine, out of the holy Scriptures, which they had always taught, and ſettle that Government which they had always retain'd among them.

The Grand Doctrine was that of the Ever-bleſſed *Trinity* in the Conſubſtantiality of the Father

Chap. III. Father and Son. The Canons relate to the Settlement and Polity of the Church; which being too numerous to insert, here shall be given only those Three, which the Learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* thinks most material; and which may be found largely explain'd and defended by him.

* *Ant. Brit. Churches*, p. 95. 99. 101.

* 1. 'That a Bishop ought chiefly to be constituted by all the Bishops in the Province; but if 'this be too difficult, either though urgent Occasions, or the Length of the Way, yet Three 'must be present for that Purpose, and have the 'Consent of the absent under their Hands, and 'so to make the Consecration. But the Confirmation of all Things done in the Province must 'be reserved to the Metropolitan. Can. 4.

2. 'That no Person excommunicated by One 'Bishop should be received into Communion by 'another. Can. 5. according to the Council 'of *Arles*; but then no Provision was made 'for the Case of Appeals, if any Person complain'd that he was unjustly excommunicated, 'which it is natural for Men to do. For this 'Purpose this *Nicene* Council decrees, That 'Provincial Synods be held Twice a Year, in Lent 'and Autumn.

3. 'Let Ancient Customs prevail, for the Bishop of Alexandria to have Jurisdiction over 'Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; because the 'Bishop of Rome hath a like Custom. Likewise 'in Antioch, and other Provinces, let the Priviledges of Churches be preserved: Let no Man 'be made a Bishop without the Consent of his 'Metropolitan. If Differences arise, let 'the Majority of Votes determine. Can. 6.

Thus *Constantine* provided for his *Britain*, and all the Churches of the World, that they might

might have that Doctrine and Diſcipline which was received from the *Apoſtles*: This was then publiſhed not only by the Authority of our Emperor, but the Advice of above Three Hundred Eminent Confeſſors and Fathers, who beſt knew what was the Faith and Government which Chriſt would have eſtabliſh'd in his Church. Chap. III.

After his Time *Britain* was upon the Decay, and indeed before this the whole Empire had been tottering, but that the Greatneſs of *Conſtantine* ſupported it. There was an old Diſeaſe, which had ſeized upon its Vitals, and now new Enemies began to aſſault its Weakneſs: The Soldiers, which were its Strength, fell upon their Head, pull'd down and ſet up what Emperors they pleas'd: The Nations round about began to ſwarm, and muſt ſeek new Habitations: The Frontiers muſt needs be weak when thoſe that ſhould guard them were ſo ill employ'd at home. All things concurr'd to make this vaſt Body tumble; not only by its own Weight, but by the Force which attack'd it from abroad.

The *Parthians* had always maintain'd a Rival Empire to *Rome*, had given them many Overthrows, and never could be Subdued: The *Perſians* (being much the ſame) ſucceed, and prevail ſo far as to take the Emperor *Valerian* Priſoner, uſing him as the vileſt Slave: And *Tapores*, King of *Perſia*, trod upon his Back when he got on Horſeback, and at laſt flay'd him Alive.

Trebellius Pollio relates in what a miſerable Condition the Empire then was: *Ad eam temporum veniemus ſeriem, in quâ per annos, quibus Gallienus & Valerianus rempublicam tenue-*

runt,

Chap. III.

'runt, triginta Tyranni, occupato Valeriano, 'magnis belli Persici necessitatibus, extiterunt: 'Quum Gallienum non solum viri, sed etiam mu- 'lieres contemptui habuerunt. We come to that 'Course of Time, wherein for the Years that *Gal-* 'lien and *Valerian* had the Possession of the 'Commonwealth (*Valerian* being employ'd in the 'great Affairs of the *Persian* War) there arose 'Thirty Tyrants: And for *Gallien*, not only 'the Men, but even the Women, had him in 'Contempt.

There were indeed some Stirs in the *Western* Parts of the Empire, but the *Roman* Emperors always got the better of them, and brought their Competitors into Subjection. Here in *Britain* * *Bonosis* set up against *Aurelian*, and got Possession of the whole Province, with *Spain* and † *Gallia Braccata*: He was a good Soldier, and so strong at the Bottle, that the Emperor made use of him to fuddle Embassadors, and dive into their secret Intentions. But he was soon subdued by *Probus*, and when he was brought to the Halter, the common Jest was, *Amphoram pendere, non hominem:* Here hangs not a Man, but a Jug.

* Vopisc. Bonos. c. 14.

† France about Narbon.

The Rebellion of *Carausius* was much more formidable; he was made Captain of * *Bononium Galliæ*, *Bologne* in *Gaul*, to scoure the Seas, which were all thereabouts infested with the Pyracies of the *Franks* and *Saxons*: But it was observ'd that he neither brought any Pillage into the Emperor's Treasury, nor restor'd to the Provincials their plunder'd Goods. *Maximian* the Emperor therefore gave Secret Orders that he should be kill'd. *Carausius* getting Intelligence of this, assumes the Imperial Purple, associates himself with those that had been his declared Enemies,

* Boloign upon the Sea in Picardy.

Enemies, though privately his Friends, that he might ſhare in the Booty, which he ſuffer'd them to take; and being Maſter of the *Roman* Navy, took Poſſeſſion of *Britain*. *Maximian* ſet out with a puiſſant Army to reduce him, but coming into *Gaul*, and finding how ſtrong *Carauſius* was both by Sea and Land, was glad to make Peace with him, yeilding the Government of *Britain* into his Hands. In Memory of which *Mr. *Camden* ſays he has ſeen in the Silver Coins of *Carauſius* Two Emperors joining Hands, with this Inſcription, *Concordia, Aug.* 9. Chap. III.

* Romans *in* Brit. *p.* 72.

Upon this *Conſtantius Chlorus* was made *Cæſar*, ſent againſt *Geſſoriacum* or *Bologn*, the ſtrongeſt Place, which *Carauſius* had: This he took, and then upon greater Succeſs *Carauſius* was ſlain by his treacherous Friend *Allectus*, who aſſum'd the Imperial Purple; and being Maſter at Sea, hop'd he ſhould be able to maintain the Dominion of *Britain*. He placed his Fleet near the *Iſle of Wight*, to prevent *Conſtantius* from Landing, but by a favourable Miſt *Cæſar* paſt by, and landing his Men, put *Allectus* into ſuch a Fright, that he threw away his Purple, leſt it ſhould diſcover him, and was killed among the *Barbarian* Forces, which he had tranſported with him. This was the firſt time that the *Saxons* and *Franks* were entertain'd in *Britain*; and they had then ſo good an Account of the Riches of *London*, that after *Allectus* was ſlain, they were making all the haſte they could to plunder the City. But *Conſtantius Chlorus* prevented them, which was a great Occaſion for ** Eumenius* to celebrate his Glory.

* Eumen. Paneg. ad Conſtantium.

After *Carauſius* had held the Poſſeſſion of *Britain* Seven Years, and *Allectus* Three, *Conſtantius Chlorus* ſet the Nation free from thoſe Uſurpations;

Chap. III. ſurpations; and having with a very mild Government diſpoſed all Things in the Province, he went againſt their Old Enemies the *Picts* in *Caledonia*, in which Expedition he died at *York*.

There it was that *Conſtantine* ſucceeded him in the Empire, but before he could enjoy it, he muſt reduce the Barbarous Nations, and conquer even thoſe that were Civiliz'd before, but now ſtood in Oppoſition againſt him. This his Victorious Sword by the Almighty Power of Heaven accompliſhed: He left the *Picts* confin'd in thoſe Bounds the *Romans* had ſet them: He conquer'd the *Franks* in *Batavia:* He made the *Germans* glad to be at Peace upon the *Rhine:* And laſt of all ſubdued the Tyrant *Maxentius*, who came to fight againſt the Emperor with the Forces of the Empire: Theſe were the Men that hated the Religion of *Conſtantine*, but then *Paganiſm* fell before the Banner of *Chriſt*, whoſe Religion from that time became Sovereign and Imperial.

Conſtantine having given Peace to the whole Empire, conſults for the Preſervation of it; and having reduc'd all the Weſtern Part of the World to a quiet Condition, conſiders how he might ſo ſettle the *Eaſt*, that the *Perſians*, who had made the greateſt Triumphs over the *Romans*, and could never be brought under, might have a Stop put to their Ambition, which would otherwiſe in time ſwallow up all.

Theſe were the moſt dreadful Enemies; and their great Advantage was, their Diſtance from *Rome*, whereby ſhe was leſs able to curb their Excurſions. To this Purpoſe *Conſtantine* reſolves to build another *Rome* nearer them, where old *Byzantium* ſtood upon the *Helleſpont*, which might

might in a manner tack *Europe* and *Asia* together. This he made a most Powerful and Christian City, and gave it his Name, which was therefore the Envy of the *Pagans*, and so hated by them, that they would make it the very Cause of the Ruin of the Empire. Chap. III.

Zozimus is the bittereſt Author that ever wrote againſt an excellent Prince: But his Malice diſcovers ſuch Folly and Falſeneſs as could never have fallen out in an Hiſtorian of his Abilities, if the overflowing of his Gaul had not ſpoil'd even the Blackneſs of his Ink. He gives this Account: That having Built *Conſtantinople*, * ἔπραξε δέ τι κωνσταντῖνος καὶ ἕτερον, ὃ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀκώλυτον ἐποίησε τὴν, ἐπὶ τὴν ῥωμαίοις ὑποκειμένην χώραν, διάβασιν· 'Conſtantine did another thing, which gave a free 'Paſſage to the *Barbarians* into the Countries 'ſubject to the *Romans*——τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀποσήσας, ταῖς δεομέναις βοηθείας πόλεσιν ἐγκατέστησε· Removing the great-'eſt Part of the Soldiers from the furthermoſt 'Bounds, he placed them in thoſe Cities which 'had no need of the Help. But does not all the World know the contrary to be true? Was there no need to guard againſt the *Perſian*? Certainly the ſucceeding Wars, wherein *Julian* the Apoſtate was ſlain, ſufficiently demonſtrate this. What Man will ever believe *Zoſimus*, that *Conſtantine*, who had Wiſdom and Proweſs enough to conquer the World, took his Soldiers from thoſe Places where there was the moſt Need of their Help, and plac'd them where there was no want of them?

Zozimus liv'd indeed to ſee *Europe* overflow'd by the Barbarous Nations, and *Rome* it ſelf taken by *Alarick* the *Goth*: But muſt all

Chap. III. all the Miſeries of the Empire be imputed to *Conſtantine* and the Chriſtian Religion, as the *Pagans* were wont to do? We know that the Divine Oracles ſet a Period for the Four Monarchies, that at the end of this laſt, *Ten Kings muſt ariſe, which have receiv'd no Kingdom as yet*; is there not a God that governs the World? And muſt not his Word be fulfill'd? After this had been reveal'd, Heaven and Earth were more likely to fall, than the *Roman* Empire to ſtand the Shock of the Divine Decree.

Rev. 17. 12.

If *Conſtantine* had not remov'd the Garriſons from the Weſtern Frontiers, 'tis ſaid the Barbarous Nations had never broke in, nor theſe Ten Kings never wore the Crowns of *Europe*. But did we regard only Humane Policy, certainly *Conſtantine* did well to provide againſt the moſt dreadful Enemy, from whom there was a preſent Danger, rather than againſt thoſe that had been often ſubdued, and were then at Quiet. After-ages may change Circumſtances, and then a Man may go for wiſe, when he ſees that which could not have been foreſeen. But as this could not be foreſeen, ſo neither could it have been prevented: There was ſuch a ſwarming of Nations as never was before or ſince: It had been as much in the Power of Men to ſet Bounds to the Sea, as it was to put a Stop to the Deluge of People which overflow'd the *Roman* World: The whole Earth muſt appear with a new Face of Government, according to the Divine Determination.

* Camden's *Brit.* p. 76.

* *Conſtantine* made ſome new Regulations in the *Weſt*, which had a Reſpect to *Britain*: He appointed a Prefect of the *Pretorium* to Command in *Gaul*, under whom was a Vicar-General, who had the Government of *Britain*: There

There was also a Count or Lieutenant of the *Saxon* Shore, who was to preserve the Coasts from the Insults of Pirates. Chap. III.

The first Governour we meet with was *Gratianus*, sirnam'd *Funarius*, the Father of the Emperor *Valentinian*: He got that Name from his holding a Rope so strong that Five Soldiers were not able to snatch it from him. He was recall'd by *Constantius*, the Son of *Constantine*, discharg'd of his Military Oath, had his Goods confiscated, for having given some Entertainment to the Usurper *Magnentius*.

† The next was that Just and Resolute Vicar-General *Martin*, who Sacrific'd his own Life because he could not save the Lives and Estates of others. The Treason of *Magnentius* had drawn in some of *Britain*, *Constantius* therefore sends over *Paul*, a Notary, to find out all the Accomplices he could: This Agent resolving to make the most of his Business, draws in the Innocent with the Guilty; from whence he got the Appellation of *Catena*, which reach'd so far, that many of the best of the Province were brought into the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes. The Brave *Martin* opposes these Base Proceedings, though they were supported by the Favour of the Court, and stood his Ground so resolutely, that *Paul* had no other Way than to accuse him as the Abettor of them. He, who had the Government committed to him, not being able to bear such a vile Informer, upon a great Provocation snatches up a Dagger, and strikes at the Heart of *Paul*; but the Blow missing the design'd Execution, he struck himself with the same Dagger into his Side, and ended a Life which he was weary of.

† Ammian. Marcell. *lib.* 14.

Chap. III. After this there was nothing in the Way, but *Paul* carried to *Rome* all whom he thought fit to accuſe, and they were miſerably entertain'd there with Tortures and Death, till at laſt Divine Vengeance found out ſuch an Inſtrument of Cruelty, and Burnt him alive in the Reign of *Julian*, which was the next following.

Domeſtick Cruelties are often follow'd by the Vengeance of Foreign Invaſions. * It was not long after that the *Picts* from the *North*, divided into Two Nations, *Dicalidonians* and *Vecturions*, the *Scots* and *Attacots*, (which might be ſome additional *Scots*, who followed the Fortune of their Countrymen) over-run the Southern *Britain:* Nor was the Miſchief leſs from the Sea, for the *Franks* and the *Saxons* confining upon them, came and pillaged all the Coaſt, ſo that the whole Iſland was in a Flame. It was neceſſary that the beſt *Roman* Captain, and a very good Army, ſhould come to extinguiſh it; which was accordingly led by *Theodoſius*, Father of *Theodoſius* the Emperor. He marches to *Bologne* in *Gaul*, and from thence lands at * *Rhutupiæ:* His firſt Buſineſs was to ſave *London*, then called *Auguſta*, and in his Way met with the Plunderers, whoſe Booty he reſtor'd to the right Owners, except what was neceſſary to relieve his wearied Soldiers. He ſettled the Province with great Felicity, but had One Rival in the Peoples Affections, who was *Valentinus*, a Perſon ſo belov'd by the People, that he thought he might ſhare in Authority with the General. But becauſe this was not permitted, he ſet up for himſelf in a very ill time, when he had ſo great a Perſon to contend with: He was at laſt brought under, but then pardon'd, left the Execution of one ſo popular ſhould create

* Ammian. Marcell. *lib.* 27, & 28.

*Sandwich *in* Kent.

create new Diſturbance. Whether the Affe- Chap. III.
ction our Iſland once bore to this *Valentine*, was the Occaſion, that People ſtill affect to call their beloved Friends by this Name, is uncertain, and may only ſerve for want of a better Conjecture.

Theodoſius having ſettled the Province, marches to the *North*, ſhuts up the *Picts* and *Scots* within their own Bounds, ſtrengthens the Frontier with Caſtles, and calls the Country he had recover'd from them by the Name of *Valentia*, therein honouring the Emperor *Valentinian*, under whom he did ſo great Service.

This Storm was no ſooner over in *Britain*, but a Hurrican fell from thence upon the Empire: *Maximus*, who was ſaid to have deſcended in a Right Line from *Conſtantine*, and commanded the Army here, could not bear the Son of him, whom he reckon'd his Equal, ſhould be proclaim'd Emperor by *Gratian*, and he left only Governour of an Iſland Province. * Upon this he gathers all the Force of *Romans* and *Britains* that he could levy here, and lands at the Mouth of the *Rhine*. The *Germans* fall in with him, and he ſets up for Emperor at *Triers*. *Gratian*, forſaken by his Soldiers, ſends St. *Ambroſe* to entreat for a Peace, which the Uſurper yeilded to, but with a treacherous Deſign of deſtroying his Maſter. For ſending an Aſſaſſine, *Andragathius*, in a cloſe Coach, under Pretence that it was the Empreſs come to viſit her Husband *Gratian*, the Villain and his Accomplices broke out, when that Prince came innocently to expreſs his Affection, and murder'd him upon the Spot.

* Zoſim. *lib.* 4.

Chap. III. After this wicked Succeſs *Maximus* marches into *Italy*, and drives *Valentinian* to ſeek Succour of *Theodoſius* in the *Eaſt*: This great Emperor meets *Maximus* at *Aquileia*, and there utterly defeats him, takes him alive, puts him into the Hands of the common Hangman; where by an ignominious Death he paid the Score of an Ambitious Life.

† Primord. Eccleſ. Br. pag. 199.

† *Gildas*, or at leaſt *Ninius* (who according to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, in many Manuſcripts bears his Name) reports that *Maximus* carried with him all the Soldiers that *Britain* would afford; that he would never part with any of them till Death had taken him from them; and then all the poor *Britains* who had eſcap'd from the Slaughter of *Aquileia*, were in a miſerable Condition. The Country which they were to repaſs was in the Power of the Enemy, they had no Ships to tranſport them over the Ocean, but making their Way into *Gaul*, they pierced as far as *Aremorica*, and ſetting down there, got Poſſeſſion of that Country, which is call'd *Little Britain*.

Some of our Legendary Writers have been troubled to find them Wives; it is therefore ſaid by *Jeffrey* of *Monmouth*, that *Dionotus*, King of *Cornwall*, to whom the Government of *Britain* was committed by *Maximus*, ſent over his Daughter *Urſula* with 11000 Noble Virgins, and 60000 more of meaner Quality: Theſe were many of them loſt by Shipwrack, many of them Raviſh'd and Murder'd: All of them were either Saints or Martyrs, and have given a great Occaſion of Devotion to the deluded World. But that the Doctors of the *Sorbon* and Cardinal *Baronius* ſhould give any Heed to ſuch a Romance, (as * it appears they do) is as ſtrange as the Story it ſelf.

* Uſher. Primord. pag. 201.

Theodo-

Theodoſius the Emperor having overcome his Enemies, and ſettled all his Affairs, both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, made his Son *Arcadius* Emperor of *Conſtantinople*; who being very young, had *Ruffinus* for his Director, and then makes his Son *Honorius*, who was but Ten Years old, Emperor of *Rome* †: Ἐπισήμήσας, τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν ὑὸν Ὀνώριον ἀναδείκνυσι βασιλέα, Στελίχωνα στρατηγόν τε ἀποφήνας ἅμα τῶν αὐλόθι ταγμάτων, καὶ ἐπίτροπον καταλιπὼν τῷ παιδί. 'He declared 'Stilicho General of all the Legions in thoſe 'Parts, and left him Tutor to his Son.

† Zoſim. lib. 4.

He had reſtored *Britain* to a State of quiet Obedience after the Rebellion of *Maximus*, and now leaves it under the Tuition of *Stilicho*, that he might guard the Province from the *Picts* in the *North*; from the *Scots*, who were in a Commotion all over *Ireland*, and made the Weſtern Seas foam with their Oars; and alſo from the *Saxons*, who infeſted the Eaſtern Coaſts with their Piracies. All this *Stilicho*, however he prov'd falſe to the Intereſt of the *Roman* Empire at laſt, yet now glorioufly perform'd, and met with the Poet *Claudian*, whoſe Pen was able to make his Praiſes durable *. Mr. *Camden* has collected ſome Things out of him, which are of very great Importance in diſcovering the Originals of thoſe who are now the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, and therefore ought to be inſerted here. Our Iſland is brought into the Poem, thus applauding her Felicity.

* Britan. p. 84.

'*Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,*
'*Munivit* Stilicho, *totam quàm* Scotus, Hiber-(nam
'*Movit, & infeſto ſpumavit remige* Thetis.
'*Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem*

'Scotica, *nec* Pictum *tremerem, ne littore toto*
'*Prospicerem dubiis venientem* Saxona *ventis.*

She said,

'By neighbouring Nations I was almost lost,
'When the Brave *Stilicho* preserv'd my Coast:
'The *Scot* did then all *Ireland* in flame;
'With Oars the Ocean foam'd whene'er he came.
'But fortified by *Stilicho*, no fear
'Of *Pictish* Inroads, or a *Scottish* War
'Could me possess: The *Saxon* could not find
'Me unprepar'd: He sail'd with every Wind;
'My Shores were safe, whatever he design'd.

Another Place shews that the *Picts* were the Domestick Enemy, and the *Saxons* Foreigners.

—*Domito quod* Saxone Thetis
Mitior, aut fracto secura Britannia Picto.

Saxons subdu'd, the Ocean had Rest,
Nor could the broken *Picts* our Peace molest.

But then *Alarick* the *Goth* hovering about *Rome*, and endangering the Capital of the Empire, that Legion which was left here by *Stilicho* to guard the Frontiers was recall'd; and *Britain* was left expos'd to the *Scots* and *Picts*, whose Description at that time confirms the Account which has been given of them.

'*Venit & extremis Legio prætenta* Britannis,
'*Quæ* Scoto *dat fræna truci, ferroq; notatas*
'*Perlegit exanimes* Picto *moriente figuras.*

The

'The Guardian Legion, then to ſuccour *Rome*,
'Did from the furtheſt Part of *Britain* come:
'That bridl'd the fierce *Scot* and *Pict* ſubdued,
'Whoſe liveleſs Pictures, as they died, were (view'd.

Whilſt the Empire was in this Diſtreſs, and *Honorius* ſo weak an Head of it, *Britain* receiving no Protection from thence, ſet up Emperors of her own: The Deluge of *Barbarians* made the Nations think of ſhifting for themſelves. The Time and Succeſſion of theſe Britiſh *Cæſars* we have given us by an Author that liv'd in thoſe Times. 'Arcadi-
'*us* the Sixth time, and *Probus* being Con- * Zoſim.
'ſuls, the *Vandals* being joined with the *lib.* 6.
'*Swedes* and the *Alans* paſſed beyond the
'*Alps*, and deſtroy'd thoſe Nations: They
'became formidable to the *Britiſh* Armies;
'inſomuch that fearing their further Progreſs,
'they ſet themſelves to chuſe Tyrants of their
'own. *Marcus*, *Gratianus*, and after theſe,
'*Conſtantine*.

Marcus did not anſwer the Expectation of thoſe that ſet him up, and therefore they quickly pluck'd him down again: Then was *Gratianus Municeps* (probably ſome great Burgo-maſter in one of the Free Towns of the *Romans*) placed upon the Throne; but his Reign was not above Four Months. So fickle a thing is popular Favour, which is ſoon weary of its own Creatures.

Much greater Succeſs had the Elevation of a *Conſtantine*, whoſe very Name was dear to the *Britains*; and they now began to appre-

Chap. III. hend that not only their Iſland, but all the World, would be their own. Their Expectations were anſwer'd beyond what any one could have imagin'd; for after Affairs were ſettled at home, this *Conſtantine* paſſes over into *Gaul*, and there the *Roman* Forces join with him; his Army was ſo great, that he over-run the whole Country, and took up his Abode at *Arles*. Ἡν Κωνσαντίνος τὸ τυράννος τὴν Γαλατίαν πᾶσαν διαθέμενος, ἐν ᾗ τῇ Ἀρελάτῳ διαθείσης. This City of *Arles* he made the Seat of his Empire, and call'd it *Conſtantina*; he laid Seven Provinces under its Juriſdiction, which went by the Name of *Septimania*. And finding himſelf ſtill capable of a further Progreſs, he took his Son *Conſtans*, who in the Lowneſs of his Fortunes had been a Monk, and made him *Cæſar*. Him he ſent with an Army into *Spain*, where he brought all the Country under his Dominion: He kept his Court at a City from him call'd *Cæſar Auguſta*, and ſince *Saragoſa*. But ſuch a Land-Flood of Fortune is ſoon dried: *Gerontius*, the chief Commander under *Conſtans*, falls off from his Maſter, purſues and kills him at *Vien* upon the *Rhodanus*: Then joining the Forces of *Honorius*, he beſieges *Conſtantine* himſelf in *Arles*, and takes him Priſoner; who being ſent into *Italy*, loſt that Ambitious Head, which could not be content with the Empire of *Britain*.

Conſtantine the Uſurper, as *Maximus* did before, had again drein'd *Britain* of all her Forces; which being now depriv'd of their Leader, make over from *Arles* to their Countrymen, who were ſettled in *Armorica*, and there became ſo potent, that they entirely ſhook off

off the *Roman* Goverment: 'Inſomuch that the whole Region of *Armorica* and the other 'Provinces of *Gaul*, imitated the *Britains*; ſet themſelves free after the ſame Manner, and 'caſting out the *Roman* Magiſtrates, conſtituted 'a Government of their own. Chap. III.

But though this *Conſtantine* took away the Forces of *Britain*, yet he left behind a young Son, *Aurelius Ambroſius*, who ſtood her in ſo great ſtead, that the Loſs of the Army was almoſt made up in ſo Great a General. *Jeffry* of *Monmouth* (to whom little heed is to be given) makes a particular Relation of his Parentage: But though this cannot be depended upon, yet ſetting aſide all fabulous Hiſtories, we are aſſur'd by *Gildas* that his Parents wore the Purple; and **Bede* relates that the firſt Victory which the *Britains* obtain'd againſt the *Saxons* was 'under the Conduct of *Ambroſius Aure-* 'lianus, a Man of great Moderation, who per- 'haps was the only Remainder of the *Roman* 'Lineage; his Parents, who bore the Royal Pur- 'ple and Scepter, having been ſlain in the former 'Tempeſt.

* *Lib.* 1, *cap.* 16.

Though the *Britains* in *Gaul*, after the Death of this *Conſtantine*, were ſtrong, well arm'd, and knew how to diſpoſe of themſelves, yet the poor *Britains* in this Iſland were in miſerable Condition: They had been bereaved of their Strength, were now ſurrounded by their Enemies, and ready to be torn to Peices by them. They had indeed ſet up *Marcus*, and *Gratian*, and *Conſtantine*, to protect them, but the Two former were unable for it, and the laſt by too great Ambition had ruin'd both himſelf and them: They therefore knew no Way, but in a moſt humble manner to implore the Aſſiſtance of the

Roman

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Roman Emperor, that he would both pardon and preserve them. The Ambassadors tore their Garments, cover'd their Heads with Sand, and did all that might express their utmost Repentance and Necessity.

They obtain'd one Legion from * *Honorius*, which destroy'd a vast Multitude of the *Barbarians*, and drove the rest out of the Bounds of *Britain*. And we are farther told by our † *Saxon* Historian, 'that having, set the *Britains* free 'from the most direful Oppression, they advis'd 'them to build a Wall between the Two Seas 'cross the Island, which might be a Defence 'to them by restraining their Enemies. After 'which in great Triumph they return'd 'Home.

* Paul. Diacon. continuat. Eutrop. *lib.* 14.

† Bed. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 12.

'The Islanders built the Wall, as they were 'commanded, but it was of Turf, not of Stone, 'having no Workmen capable of so great an Un'dertaking, so that it stood them in little or 'no stead. However, they made it between the 'Two Friths or Bays of the Sea for many Miles, 'that where the Defence of the Water was want'ing, they might by the Wall be defended from 'the Irruption of their Enemies.

'There are to this Day the most certain Re'mains of this very high and broad Wall to 'be seen. It begins almost Two Miles from 'the Monastery of *Abercurnig* to the *East*, in 'a Place which the *Picts* call *Peanvahel*, and 'the *English* in their Language *Pennelton*: And 'stretching on to the West, it ends near the City '*Alcluith*.

* Sabell. Ennead. 8. *lib.* 1.

* But so soon as the *Romans* were withdrawn the *Scots* and *Picts* broke in again; 'who had 'utterly destroy'd the whole Island, unless by 'the Commands of *Valentinian*, a Legion which

'had

'had been left by *Aetius* for the Defence of the 'Parisians, had presently come over under the 'Conduct of *Gallio* of *Revenna*: Upon whose 'Arrival the Robberies of the *Scots* and *Albanois* 'grew into Contempt. Chap. III.

Bede gives us a larger Account of the Success of this Legion, and the Stone Wall, which they built before they took their last Leave. 'Again a Legion was sent, which arriving un-'expectedly in the *Autumn*, made great Slaugh-'ter of the Enemies: All that escap'd they 'drove beyond the Seas; who were wont, 'without the Resistance of any Soldiers, to 'carry their Annual Booties thither. This much 'being accomplish'd, the *Romans* declar'd to 'the *Britains* that they could no more for their 'Defence fatigue themselves with such laborious 'Expeditions; they advise them to take up 'Arms, and with Courage to set upon their 'Enemies, who were stronger than they, only by 'reason of their Laziness.

'And, because it might be very advantage-'ous to their Allies, whom they were now to 'leave, they Build a Wall of solid Stone from 'Sea to Sea, in a straight Line between those 'Cities which had been made, to secure them 'from the Fear of the Enemy, and where *Seve-'rus* had formerly Built his Wall. This Wall 'is still Famous and Conspicuous; 'twas Eight 'Foot broad, and Twelve high: The *Britains* 'came in and carried it on, so that it was Built 'by their Assistance, as well as at the Publick 'Charge,

'When this was finish'd, they gave coura-'geous Admonition to a slothful People, and 'communicated to them some Paterns of their 'Arms. Also upon the South Shore of the

'Ocean,

Chap. III.

'Ocean, where the Ships of the *Barbarians* were 'wont to arrive, they did in ſeveral diſtant 'Places build Towers, from whence they might 'have a Proſpect of the Sea: And having done 'this, they took Leave of their Allies, never to 'return again.

'The *Picts* and *Scots* being inform'd that the 'Romans were never to return again, grew 'more bold than ever: They poſſeſſed all the 'Northern Part of the Iſland as far as the Wall, 'as if they had been the proper Inhabitants of 'it. There ſtood upon the Top of the Fortifica-'tion a Slothful Army, which watching Night 'and Day with Trembling Hearts, grew Faint 'and Stupid. On the other Side, the hooked 'Poles of the Enemies never ceas'd; they drew 'down the miſerable Defendents from their 'Wall, and daſh'd them againſt the Ground. To 'be ſhort, the *Britains* fly, and leave not only 'their Wall, but their Cities, and are every-'where ſcattered. The Enemy purſues, Slaughter 'haſtens, Cruelty outgoes all its former Mea-'ſures. As Lambs before the Wolves, ſo did 'theſe miſerable People fly before their Pur-'ſuers. Being caſt out of their Eſtates and 'Dwellings, they were ready to Starve, and had 'only the Relief of Hunting to provide them-'ſelves with any Food.

*'In the Twenty-third Year of the Reign of 'Theodoſius the younger, when that Illuſtrious 'Patrician *Aetius* was third time Conſul with 'Symmachus [where *Theodoſius* II. Emperor of 'the *Eaſt*, is probably put for *Valentian* III. 'who was his Contemporary Emperor in the 'Weſt; becauſe theſe Affairs relate to the *Weſt*, 'and the 3d Conſulſhip of *Aetius* with *Sym-'machus* falls in with the 23d Year of *Valenti-*

*Bed. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 13.

'nian,

'*nian*, not *Theodoſius*]: The poor Remainders Chap. III.
'of the *Britains* ſend a Supplicatory Epiſtle,
'which begins after this manner. To Aetius,
'*third time Conſul*, *the Groans of the* Britains.
'And as they go on they thus expreſs their
'their Calamities: *The* Barbarians *drive us*
'*to the Sea*, *the Sea drive us back again upon*
'*the* Barbarians: *We can only chuſe One of*
'*theſe Two Sorts of Death*, *whether we will*
'*have our Throats Cut*, *or be Drown'd.*

'For all this they could not obtain the leaſt
'Relief: The Forces of the Empire were en-
'tirely taken up in thoſe moſt dreadful Wars
'with *Bleda* and *Attila*, Kings of the *Huns*.
'For though *Bleda* was ſlain the Year before by
'the Treachery of his Brother *Attila*, yet he alone
'remain'd an Enemy ſo intolerable to the Com-
'monwealth, that almoſt all the Cities and
'Caſtles of *Europe* were deſtroy'd.

Thus have we heard not only the Groans of the *Britains*, but the Groans of the whole Empire: All the Nations were in Diſtreſs, and cried out at the Birth of ſo many new Monarchies. The North *pour'd* down a Flood of *Barbarians*, and above all, the Stream run ſtrongeſt againſt *Italy*, where Power, and Glory, and Riches, had their Principal Seat. *Huns*, and *Goths*, and *Lombards*, haſten thither as to the fatteſt Carcaſs; thoſe *Eagles*, which had prey'd upon all the World, were now themſelves the Prey. *Gaul* was the thorough-fare of the Barbarous Spoilers; through this great Street of the Empire did the *Vandals* ramble down into *Africk*; the Weſtern *Goths* came and deſtroy'd her Inland Provinces, as they paſſed on, and ſettled in *Spain*. *Britain* was not oppreſs'd alone, all the *Roman* World ſhar'd in the ſame Miſeries:

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ries: 'Twas a Fatal, but Universal Revolution; such as the whole Earth suffers when Night succeeds the Bright Glories of the Day. The Time was come that the Empire must sink, Learning die, and Religion vanish into Pageantry: But after a Thousand Years the great Governour of the World has now given them a Resurrection to their former Glory: Thus it has pleased God to recover us. But at first *Britain* receiv'd Civility, Learning and Religion from *Rome*, at that time * *when her Faith was spoken of through the whole World.* The great *Apostle* of the Nations visited this Island, and considering his former Travels, may be said truly to have verified the Prediction of our Lord, who knew all Things in Heaven and Earth. * *For as the Lightning cometh out of the East, and shineth even unto the West, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.* As to our Temporals, the Multitude of *Romans* that from time to time came over hither, the large Estates they were possess'd of, the continual Trade they drove with the civiliz'd Inhabitants, and the frequent Marriages which were made between those of the highest Quality in the Empire and this Province, give us a greater Alliance and nearer Kindred to that Glorious People than to any other Nation of the World.

* Rom. 1. 8.

* Mat. 24. 27.

From the Time of *Julius Cæsar* to *Constantine the Great*, *Britain* was continually advancing in her Felicities, afterwards indeed she was in the Wain: The Usurpers carried away her Warriours, and the Distresses of the Empire drein'd her of all her Soldiers, who hop'd and long'd to return again; which made them hide their Treasures, where they had left their Hearts.

But

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But these were only the younger Soldiers, who had no Families to bestow them upon, and made Provision for a Settlement at their Return; The Estates of the *Veterans* lay in those Colonies which were not movable; and however they might go themselves, yet it was never the Custom of the *Romans* to carry their Wives and Children to the Wars: So that a great Part of the Body of the People which remain'd here was truly *Roman*.

Nothing can more confirm us in the Opinion of *Britain*'s Conjunction with *Rome*, than the length of Time wherein the Empire had a Dominion and Interest here. * *Cæsar* places his first Expedition out of *Gaul* into this Island in the Year when *Cn. Pompey* and *M. Crassus* were Consuls, which according to the Chronological Tables of *Helvicus* was 698 Years after the City of *Rome* was Built: The Expiration of the *Roman* Government, when the *Britains* in vain petitioned for Relief, was when *Aetius* was third time Consul with *Symmachus*, *Valentian* III. being Emperor of the *West*, and *Theodosius* II. of the *East*, which was in the Year of the City, according to the same Tables, 1198. So that the Continuance of the *Romans* here was exactly the Space of 500 Years.

Comment. *lib.* 4.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Scots.

THE *Scots* are a People not mentioned under that Name by any Author whatsoever before the end of the Third Century; the first that ever us'd the Word was *Porphyry* the Philosopher, as is asserted by Archbishop * *Usher*. And even as to that Quotation, which St. *Jerome* has out of *Porphyry*, *Usher* confesses some Copies read *Scythicæ* instead of *Scoticæ gentes*, the *Scythian* insteed of the *Scotish* Nations; though he Maintains the reading of *Scoticæ gentes*, yet 'tis all one, as will appear hereafter.

* Br. Eccl. Primord. pag. 728.

This being asserted so long ago, certainly those who have hitherto relied upon fabulous Antiquities, would by this Time have found out some good Author, who might have given a more early Account of them, if there had been any such. But instead of a Contradiction, we find the Learn'd Bishop *Lloyd* proving the same by multiplied Authorities, which do not only give us an Account that they were not anciently in *Britain*, but tell us whence they came: Though if there was no other Argument than the Language they use at this Day, it would be sufficient to shew that they were Originally the same with those who possess the greatest Part of *Ireland*.

The Bishop hath given us his Account so succinctly and learnedly, that it may be best taken in his own Words: '* *Ireland* in the meanwhile

* *Church-Govcrnm. Brit. & Irel. pag.* 7.

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'while [that *Britain* was ſtill under the *Roman* 'Empire] was inhabited by the *Scots*, and from 'them was called *Scotland* by the Writers 'that liv'd in thoſe Times. The firſt Writer 'that mentioneth the Name of *Scots* is *Porphyry*, 'in a Book which ſeems to have been written a-'bout the Year of Chriſt Three Hundred; for 'there (as it is quoted in St. *Jerome*) he calleth '*Britain* a Province, fruitful of Tyrants, re-'ferring chiefly no doubt to thoſe that ſet up 'then againſt *Dioclesian*; and there he ſpeaks 'of the *Scotiſh* Nations apart, as not living in '*Britain* at that time.

'But that their Dwelling was then in *Ireland* 'is affirm'd by *Oroſius* in his Hiſtory, which was 'written in the Year 417. With which agrees 'that of *Claudian*, who wrote about 20 Years 'before, *that the* Scots *roſe all over* Ireland, '*and made the Sea foam with their Oars*; and 'again, *that* Ireland *wept over the heaps of the* 'Scots *that were ſlain*. So *Proſper*, within 'Twenty Years after *Oroſius*, calls that in which 'the *Scots* liv'd *the Barbarous Iſland*, in Con-'tradiſtinction to *Britain*, which he calleth the Roman *Iſland*.

'Therefore *Ireland* is called *Scotia* by the 'Writers of thoſe Times, particularly by him 'who calleth himſelf *Hegeſippus*, who was ei-'ther St. *Ambroſe*, or a Writer of the Age. So '*Iſidore* about the Year 620 ſaith, Scotia *is the* '*ſame with* Hibernia.

'*Gildas*, who writ in the Year 564, calls the 'ſame People ſometimes *Scoti*, ſometimes *Hi-'berni*. *Cogitoſus* ſaith of *Kildare* in *Ireland*, 'that it was the ſafeſt Place in all the Land of 'the *Scots*. So *Adamnanus*, about the Year 680, 'calleth it the Iſle of *Scotland*, and ſaith of *Co-*

Chap. IV. ‘ *lumba*, that he ſailed out of *Scotland* into *Britain*. So *Bede* in his Hiſtory, which was writ about Fifty Years after, ſaith of the *Scots*, that their Country is *Ireland*, and ſometimes calls it the Iſle of *Scotland*, and hath the Words *Scotland* and *Ireland* uſed promiſcuouſly for the ſame in ſeveral Places. And King *Alfred* in his Second Tranſlation of *Oroſius* (at the Paſſage I have mentioned) hath theſe Words: *Ibernia, that we call* Scotland. And in his Tranſlation of *Bede* he calls it ſometimes *Hibernia*, *Scotland*, and ſometimes *Hibernia*, the *Scots* Iſland.

‘ Not to burden the Reader with more Quotations, I ſhall refer him to the moſt Learned Archbiſhop *Uſher*, who at large proves this uſe of the Word, and thus concludes: *I do not believe that there is any Writer that lived within a Thouſand Years after Chriſt, that once mentioned the Name of* Scotland, *and doth not mean* Ireland *by it.*

This is abundantly ſufficient to prove that the *Scots* came from *Ireland*; and that when they came to be known to the World, *Ireland* it ſelf came to be often call'd *Scotland*; yet this was not before the fourth Century: Or elſe how could it come to paſs that none of the Claſſical Authors, not ſo much as *Tacitus* himſelf (who had ſuch a particular Opportunity of being inform'd by that *Iriſh* Prince, whom his Son-in-law, *Agricola*, entertain'd) ſhould get any Intelligence of the *Scots* in *Ireland?* How comes *Ireland* upon their Account afterwards almoſt to loſe its old Name?

If we take the Judgment of the moſt Learned Inquirers into the Original of Nations, and ſee the Reaſons they depend upon, we ſhall quickly be

be ſatisfied of the Truth, and unravel the Myſtery. * Biſhop *Stillingfleet* does not only tell us his Opinion, but whence he had it. 'Cam-'den and Sir *James Ware*, Two Learned Anti-'quaries, both think *Ireland* firſt peopled from 'Britain; and *Camden* offers good Reaſons for 'his Aſſertion. As the Agreement of the *Bri-'tiſh* and *Iriſh* Languages in very many Words: 'The Similitude of Cuſtoms and Manners, its 'being anciently call'd the Leſſer *Britain*, and 'the Inhabitants *Britains*: The Conveniency 'of Paſſage from *Britain* thither. But then it was but thinly peopled, for * *Tacitus* in his Account tells us, that *it might be conquer'd and kept by one Legion, and a few Auxiliaries.* Which would never have been ſaid by a Man of his Judgment, if it had been half ſo well inhabited as *Britain.* So that the *Scots* being not then known in *Ireland*, we muſt enquire when and whence they came thither. That the People of this weak Iſland ſhould grow ſo numerous, ſo ſtrong, ſo eagerly ſet upon enlarging themſelves as to make frequent and fierce Invaſions upon *Britain* it ſelf. It is certainly neceſſary that we ſhould ſuppoſe the Arrival of ſome new Nation in *Ireland*; that when all the Northern World ſwarm'd with a miraculous Multiplication of Mankind, which were burſting out every way to ſeek Countries to maintain themſelves, ſome of them might light upon *Ireland*, and eaſily plant themſelves in that Iſland, which was altogether defenceleſs, and unable to make Reſiſtance, as having been never exercis'd by the *Roman* Arms, from whence they might have learn'd ſomething of the Skill of War. But this muſt be a great while after the Time of *Tacitus*, when Navigation upon the *German*

* *Antiq. Brit. Ch.* p. 35. *Preface.*

* De vit. Agric. *cap.* 24.

Chap IV. Ocean ceas'd to be a Miracle, as it did about the Time of *Conſtantine the Great*; for then the *Franks* and *Saxons* grew ſo very buſie in theſe Seas, that the *Romans* were forc'd to appoint their greateſt Men for the Guard of theſe Coaſts: So that their Fleets lying continually between *Britain*, *Gaul* and *Belgium* compell'd the Rovers to make their Adventures more to the *North-Weſt*.

It cannot be thought that thoſe People who liv'd *North* of the *Franks* and *Saxons* ſhould lye ſtill, whilſt all their Neighbours were ſet upon Piracy and Plunder; there is no doubt but the *Scythians* had greater Inclinations to this Courſe of Life than thoſe who were more civiliz'd. All the Northern Nations were called *Scythians*, and particularly thoſe that lay above the *Celtæ*, the Inhabitants of *Belgium* and *Gaul*; as * *Strabo* acquaints us. Ἅπαντας μὲν δὴ τοὺς προσβόρρους κοινῶς οἱ πάλαιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνγραφεῖς Σκύθας καὶ Κελτοσκύθας ἐκάλουν. 'The Ancient Writers of the *Grecians* call'd 'all the Northern People in general, *Scythæ* 'and *Celtoſcythæ*. As to the Deſcription of them, he ſays, Ἅπαντες δ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ Νομάδες. They were all Ramblers; at leaſt for the moſt part had no ſettled Habitation; they lived upon Hunting, and depended upon their Bow, for all the Meat they had: Inſomuch that our Learned Etymologiſt * Dr. *Skinner* thinks that the *Teutonick* Verb *Scieten* to ſhoot was derived from the *Scythæ*, whoſe great Buſineſs it was. As to their Temper *Strabo* tells us it was very different. Τοὺς βίους ἀνομοίους· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι χαλεπούς, ὥστε καὶ ἀνθρωποφαγεῖν τοὺς δὲ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ἀπέχεσθαι. Their Lives were very unlike, for ſome of them were

* *Geograph.* lib. 11.

* In voc. Scythæ.

were ſo hardy as to eat Man's Fleſh, others abſtain'd even from all Living Creatures. Nor is any of theſe Characters unfit for the wild *Iriſh* or Highland *Scots*, whom alone we ſuppoſe to be the Poſterity of the *Scythians*, tho' others improperly bear the Name. We may be aſſured that the true *Scots* were *Scythians* by the moſt ancient Authors that mention them. They were not indeed known to the *Romans*, and therefore we cannot expect to receive any Information from their Hiſtorians. But Mr. *Camden* has collected the Expreſſions of ſome that liv'd next to them. Chap. IV.

* *Br.* Scots, p. 120.

'*Ninnius* expreſly calls the *Britains* that inhabit *Ireland Scythians*: And the narrow Sea, through which they paſſed over out of *Ireland* into *Britain*, *Gildas* nameth *Vallem Scythicam*, that is, the *Scythian* Vale. Moreo-'ver King *Alfred*, who Seven Hundred Years 'paſt tranſlated the Hiſtory of *Oroſius* into the '*Engliſh Saxon* Tongue, turned [*Scotos*] into '[*Scyttan*]. And our Countrymen, who dwell 'next to *Scotland*, uſed to call them not by the 'Name of *Scots*, but *Scyttes*, *Settes*.

And this they might well do, ſince they are ſo call'd at the very beginning of our *Saxon* Annals; which being written at ſeveral times, that which we firſt meet with was moſt ancient. There is an Account given of all the Inhabitants of *Great-Britain* in their Time; and the Language is not ſo much different from ours at preſent, but that if it be put down in our Characters it may be generally underſtood.

'**Britteneigland is ehta hund mila lang. and twa* *Sax. Ann. 'hund brad. And her Sind on this Igland fif* init. 'gethead [*Nations*] *Engliſe and Brittiſe. and* 'Wilſe, *and Scyttiſe, and Pyhtiſe, and Bocleden.*

Chap. IV. The *Britiſh* and *Welſh* muſt be the ſame, otherwiſe there would be Six Nations; and perhaps they are twice mentioned to diſtinguiſh thoſe *Britains* who were driven into *Wales*, from thoſe that were driven into *Cornwall* and *Cumberland*, who had not yet got any other Name. The *Scyttiſe* and *Phytiſe*, muſt be the *Scots* and *Picts*, or elſe there would be then no *Scots* in *Britain*. The *Bocleden* are always tranſlated the *Latines*, the Book-learn'd, becauſe they were reckned Maſters ofall the Books and Learning in the World.

That the *Engliſh* might be able to give an Account of the Alteration of the Word *Scythian* into *Scot*, * *Radulphus de Diceto*, Dean of *London*, a Noted Hiſtorian, gives us the Derivation, and ſupports it with an Example, which is very much the ſame, and yet undeniable. 'A 'regione quadam, quæ dicitur Scitia, dicitur Sci- 'ta, Sciticus, Scoticus, Scotus, Scotia. Simi- 'liter a regione quadam quæ dicitur Getia, dici- 'tur Geta, Geticus, Goticus, Gotus, Oſtrogothus, 'Witſigothus. As from a Country called *Scitia*, we have *Scita*, *Sciticus*, *Scoticus*, *Scotus*, *Scotia*: So from a Country call'd *Getia* we have *Geta*, *Geticus*, *Goticus*, *Gotus*, *Oſtrogotus*, *Witſigotus*.

* X Script; *pag.* 627.

* Mr. *Camden* gives a further Confirmation, that the Words *Scythian* and *Scot* are Homonymous; for 'that the *Flemings*, and other *Ne- 'therlanders*, expreſs by this One Word *Scutten*, 'both the *Scythians* and *Scots*. As Dr. *Skinner* 'is of the Opinion that both *Scots* and *Scythæ* 'are derived from the Teutonick *Schieten* to 'ſhoot. And accordingly *Orpheus* termeth the *Scythians*, τοξοφόρους, as *Ælian* and *Julius Pollux* do *Sagittarios*, that is, Archers.

* Britan. Scots, *pag.* 120.

We may find the Tract of the *Scots* coming over

over from *Scythia*; the *Roman* Fleets compell'd the *Barbarian* Pirates to ſeek their Booty more to the *North-Weſt*; they fell upon the Iſles of *Schytland*, which bear their Name to this Day. There they were half Seas over to the *Hebrides*, which * *Bede* calls the *Mevaniæ*, *inſulas quæ inter Hiberniam & Britanniam ſitæ ſunt.* Iſlands that lye between *Ireland* and *Britain.* How theſe were inhabited we have the moſt Authentick Account from *Oroſius*, who liv'd about 400 Years after Chriſt. † Archbiſhop *Uſher* thus ſets it down. *Sodorenſem illam, Mevaniam appellat Paulus Oroſius, & æquè ac Hiberniam a Scotorum gentibus habitatam ſuo tempore fuiſſe confirmat.* *Paulus Oroſius* calls the Iſland *Sodora*, *Mevania*, and affirms that in his time it was inhabitated by the Nations of the *Scots* or *Scythians*, as well as *Ireland.*

Chap. IV

* *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 5.

† Brit. Eccl. Prim. *p.* 642.

This great Iſland lay within View of the reſt, and could not but invite the *Scythians* over, as being large enough to receive their Multitudes, and ſufficiently fertile to maintain them. Thoſe that return'd home with News of their Succeſs, might eaſily perſwade all their Relations to leave the cold and barren Mountains of the *North* for ſuch a Country, which yeilded all manner of Proviſions with very little Labour: An Advantage which indeed ſeems very great, but is really very prejudicial, ſince it encourages Lazineſs, and fetters the People in an unactive Sloth.

Ireland had never been viſited by the *Roman* Conquerors, ſo that there were no Men of Letters among them; the *Scythians* were much more Barbarous then they; for the further North any People live, among Mountains, and Woods, and Wild Beaſts, the more ſavage they become. We can therefore have no Written Account ei-

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ther from the Conquerours or Conquered how this *Scythian* Invaſion was carried on: and it lay ſo out of the Way of the Learned World, that it is not taken Notice of any further than that the *Scythians* inhabited thoſe Countries.

The firſt Author, who liv'd in theſe Parts, and gives any conſiderable Account, is *Bede*; he did not write till almoſt Three Hundred Years after the *Romans* had quitted *Britain*. He had no Authors before him, out of which he could collect Memorials, either of the *Scythian* Plantation in *Ireland*, or the *Scotiſh* Invaſion of *Britain*. He gives us therefore ſuch a Relation as he could pick up after ſo long an Interval, and takes Care to let us know that it was only a Report, which he had no Aſſurance of. But that it may truly appear what it is, it ſhall be here ſet down as he gives it.

* Bede *Ec. Hiſt.* l. 1. c. 1.

'* Firſt this *Iſland* contain'd only *Britains*, of whom it took its Name, who came (*ut fertur*) as it is reported from the Tract of *Armorica* 'into *Britain*, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of its 'Southern Parts. And when they were in Poſ'ſeſſion of the greateſt Part of the Iſland, be'ginning from the South, it happen'd that a 'Nation of *Picts*, (*ut perhibent*) as they tell us, 'with a few long Ships entred the Ocean, and 'a Gale of Wind driving them about, beyond the 'utmoſt Bounds of *Britain*, they arriv'd in *Ire'land*, and entred upon the North Coaſts of 'it. There finding a Nation of *Scots*, they en'treated that they might have Habitations in 'thoſe Parts, but could not obtain their Requeſt; '*Ireland* is an Iſland, next to *Britain* the grea'teſt; ſituated to the Weſt of *Britain*: As it 'is narrower towards the North, ſo towards 'the Northern Coaſts of *Spain* it ſtretch'eth it ſelf out very much in the *South*, where

'a

'a great Sea is interpos'd. The *Picts* (as Chap. IV.
'we have ſaid) arriving in their Fleet at this
'Iſland, deſired that Seats and Habitations
'might be given them in it. The *Scots* anſwer'd,
'That the Iſland would not contain both of them:
'But we can (ſaid they) give you very good
'Adviſe what you may do. We know another
'Iſland not far from ours, toward the *Eaſt*,
'which we are often wont to ſee in a clear Day;
'if you go thither you may be able to make it
'your Habitation; but if you find Reſiſtance,
'make uſe of our Help.

'The *Picts* then making over to *Britain*, began
'to inhabit the North Parts of the Iſland; for
'the *Britains* poſſeſs'd the Southern. But the
'*Picts* not being provided with Wives, begg'd
'a Supply from the *Scots*, which was granted
'them upon this Condition, that when there
'came to be any Diſpute about the Succeſſion,
'they ſhould chuſe their King rather of the
'Female than of the Male Lineage; which
'Cuſtom is to this Day preſerv'd among the *Picts*. Ibid.

'After this *Bede* ſeems to go on with more
'Aſſurance, as relating that which was done a
'great while after. *Procedente autem tempore Britannia poſt Britones & Pictos tertiam Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit; qui duce Rheudâ de Hibernia egreſſi, vel amicitia vel ferro, ſibimet inter eos, ſedes quas hactenus habent vindicarunt. A quo videlicet duce uſq; hodie Dalreudini vocantur, nam linguâ eorum Dal partem ſignificat.* In Proceſs of Time after the *Britains* and *Picts*, *Britains* received a third Nation of *Scots* in the Country of the *Picts*; who under the Conduct of *Rheuda* came out of *Ireland*, and either by Force or Freindſhip, got to themſelves thoſe Habita ions which they enjoy at preſent. From which Leader they

'are

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'are call'd at this Day *Dalreudines*; *Dal* in 'their Language signifying a Portion.

He was certainly in the Right, when he affirms that after the *Britains* and *Picts*, *Britain* received a third Nation of *Scots* in the Country of the *Picts*, which seems to be his own Opinion, contrary to the common Report. For if the *Scots* were a third Nation, then the *Picts* were here before them, as well as the *Britains*: The *Picts* could not receive them into their Country, except they were possessed of a Country of their own. Nor is there the least mention of any *Scots*, who as Countrymen might assist those *Dalreudines*, but what they had was in the Highlands, which the *Picts* could well spare, whilst they kept all that was of any Value for themselves.

Though the *Scots* did at last obtain a Country and Kingdom in *Britain*, yet Bishop *Lloyd* does with very good Reason doubt whether the Tradition of King *Rheuda* bringing over a Colony from *Ireland* be not a Mistake: He is of Opinion that the *Scots* had no Settlement till after the *Britains* call'd in the *Saxons*. Thus he argues: * 'Bede saith they came over first under 'one *Rheuda*, and settled themselves in that 'Part of *Britain* which from him is called *Dal-* 'ried, that is, the Portion of *Rheuda*. But did not 'that Country rather take its Name from *Dalried* 'in *Ireland*, now called *Routh*, from whence 'the *Scots* came to plant themselves in *Britain*? 'There is nothing more common than this Way 'of carrying the Names of Places and Countries 'along with the Colonies, they send forth. And 'it seems very probable that this *Rheuda* (whom 'late Romancers call *Reuther*) might be that *Re-* 'Eda, or King *Eda*, the first King of *Dalried* in *Ire-* 'land, who left his Name to that Country, from 'whence

* Lloyd's *Hist.* Great Brit. *and* Ireland, *Pag.* 14.

whence it came over into *Britain* in After-times. Chap. IV.
'For *Bede* doth not bring any Author for that which he ſaith of *Rheuda*'s bringing the *Scots* into *Britain*; and therefore I ſuppoſe he might take it up, as he profeſſes he did what he ſaith of the firſt planting of the *Britains* and *Picts* in that Chapter by hearſay, and no otherwiſe. And whereas what he ſaith of any Action out of Books, he commonly expreſſes the Time when it happened; here he hath no time for the coming of *Rheuda* into *Britain.*

* Archbiſhop *Uſher* tells us, that the *Iriſh* do call the Country of *Antrim* by the Name of *Dalrieda*, which we call *Route*; it's Ancient Inhabitants were the *Rutheni*. The Chief Town of it, as * Mr. *Camden* ſays, is 'Carig-fergus, which 'ſignifies the Rock of *Fergus*, [of that moſt Re-'nowned *Fergus*] who firſt brought the *Scots* out 'of *Ireland* into *Britain.*

* *Brit. Eccl. Prim.* 611.

† Ireland *Antrim*, p. 112.

This lyes juſt over-againſt *Cantire*, the moſt South-weſt Part of that which is called the Portion of *Dalried* in *Britain:* Thoſe Forces which *Fergus* brought to aſſiſt the *Picts* in their laſt Invaſion of the *Britains* might moſt probably come from *Dalrieda* in *Ireland*; and when the *Saxons* had put a full Stop to them, might ſettle here in *Britain*, giving the Name of their Old Country to their New Habitations.

We may proceed in a more certain Account of our Hiſtory, where *Bede* takes it almoſt *verbatim* out of *Gildas*, who was a *Britiſh* Monk of *Bangor*, and lived ſo near theſe great Revolutions, that he could not but have ſuch Relations of them as cannot be queſtioned. * He ſays, 'That ſometimes his Countrymen [the *Britains*] 'ſometimes the Enemies overcame: As if by 'wonted

* Lib. de Britain excidio.

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'that Nation [the *Saxons*] God would, after his 'wonted manner, try his *Iſrael*, that then was, 'whether they would love him or no; until 'the Year of the Siege of Mount *Badon*, all-'moſt the laſt, and not the leaſt Slaughter of 'the Robbers; which was the Forty-fourth Year 'after the *Saxons* came, and the Year of my 'Nativity. * So that he was Born in the very Year wherein the *Britains* overcame the *Saxons* at Mount *Baden*, which he ſays was the Forty-fourth Year after their Arrival. Now the *Saxons* came into *Britain* in the Year of Chriſt 449, as *Bede* writes in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 15. And accordingly *Gildas* being born *Ann.* 493, theſe things were tranſacted but 44 Years before his Time. *Bede*, after the *Scots* and *Picts* had pull'd down the *Britains* from their defenſive Wall, which was built croſs the Iſland, and began to over-run all the Country, does out of *Gildas* give us an Account of what followed.

* Voſſ. de Scripr. Lat. *lib.* 2 *cap.* 21.

'* A dreadful Famine afflicting the *Britains*, 'which left a laſting Remembrance of its Miſ-'chief to Poſterity, compell'd many of them to 'yeild their conquer'd Lands to their Cruel 'Plunderers. Others would never ſubmit, but 'truſting in the Divine Aid, when there was no 'longer any Power in Man, renew'd the War 'from their Mountains, and Caves, and Woods: 'Then they firſt began to make a Slaughter of 'the Enemy, who for many Years had plun-'der'd the Country. The *Iriſh*, thoſe moſt Im-'pudent Robbers, return Home, but who after 'no long time were to return again. The *Picts* 'then firſt, and afterwards were at reſt in the 'furtheſt Part of the Iſle, but they could not ut-'terly ceaſe from making their troubleſome Ex-'curſions upon the *Britains*. In this Interval,

* Bed. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 14.

'whilſt

'whilſt the *Britains* reſted from Hoſtile Inva- Chap. IV.
'ſions, the Iſland began to abound with ſo great
'Plenty of Grain that no Age ever knew the
'like: But at the ſame time Luxury increas'd,
'and the Plague of all Manner of Wickedneſs
'was the Conſequence of this Debauchery: E-
'ſpecially Cruelty, Hatred of the Truth, and a
'Delight in Falſhood; inſomuch, that if any
'among them appear'd more mild, and ſtedfaſt to
'the Truth, preſently without any Reſpect
'the Hatred and Deſigns of all of them were
'levell'd againſt him as a Subverter of *Britain*.
'Not only worldly Men, but Chriſt's own Flock,
'and the Paſtors of it, were given up to Drunken-
'neſs, Animoſities, Strife, Envy, and ſuch En-
'normities, withdrawing their Necks from the
'gentle Yoke of Chriſt.

'At this time a terrible Plague ſuddenly
'ſeiz'd upon Men of ſuch Corrupt Minds,
'which in a little time deſtroy'd ſuch a Multi-
'tude of them, that the Living were not ſuf-
'ficient to Bury the Dead. But for all this, thoſe
'that remain'd would not, either by the Death of
'thoſe about them, or the Fear of their own
'Death, be recall'd from that Death of Sin,
'wherewith their Souls were ſeiz'd.

'Hence it came to paſs that not long after a
'ſharper Vengeance purſued this Diſmal Wicked-
'neſs of a Sinful Nation. It was conſulted what
'was to be done, that they might find out ſome
'Protection, whereby they might be enabled to
'avoid and repel thoſe cruel and frequent Irrup-
'tions of the Northern Nations. That which
'pleas'd them all, and their King *Vortigern*,
'was, to call in the *Saxons* to their Aid from the
'Parts Beyond-ſea. This was plainly order'd
'by the Providence of God, that ſo much Miſ-

'chief

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'chief might fall upon the Wicked, as the Event 'prov'd.

From whence it is obſerv'd, that here the *Scots*, who are mentioned only under the Name of *Iriſh*, had not yet any Settlement in *Britain*, but are ſaid to return to *Ireland*, which was their Home. And indeed it is not poſſible to think they were before this, Inhabitants of *Britain*: Had *Caledonia* been ſtuff'd with a New Nation, fierce and enterprizing, could the poor *Britains* themſelves in the Time of *Honorius* have made their Turff-Wall from the Frith of *Edenburgh* to that of *Dunbritten*, the narroweſt Bound of all, in which the *Picts*, when they were without any Help, would hardly ever ſuffer themſelves to be coop'd up? Or was it poſſible that in the Time of *Valentinian* one ſingle Legion, under the Conduct of *Gallio* of *Revenna*, ſhould be ever able to Build a Wall of Stone quite croſs the Iſland, when they had ſo many Enemies about their Ears? It is therefore certain that the *Scots* return'd to their own *Ireland* till the *Romans* had quite forſaken *Britain*: And probably till the *Picts* were beat by the *Saxons*; at which time as the *Britains* call'd in Foreign Aſſiſtance, in like manner did the *Picts*, and gave their Neighbour *Scots* thoſe Weſtern Highlands, wherein they ſpeak *Iriſh* to this Day.

Brit. Eccl. Prim. P. 609. * Archbiſhop *Uſher* makes this more than a Conjecture, by giving us the Hiſtory of that *Scotiſh* Prince who firſt ſettled and reigned in that Part of *Britain*. He has it out of the Life of St. *Patrick*, written by *Jocelin*. 'The King 'of *Dalrieda* died, and left his Twelve Sons to 'divide the Inheritance among them; the young'eſt of them, who was called *Fergus*, was 'deſpiſed by his Brothers, and deprived of his 'Share.

Share. The young Man repairs to St. *Patrick*, and entreats him that by his Prayers he might be made Partaker of his Father's Inheritance, promising that he would give the Better Part of his Portion for the building up and maintaining the Church of God. The Holy Bishop interceeding for him, and prevailing in his Affair, *Fergus* receiv'd the Possession of his Portion with the Rest of his Brothers, and accordingly gave the better half of it, to the most Holy Prelate for building a Church. He refus'd it, that he might not seem to sell his Intercession, but bid him give it to *Olean*. St. *Olean* Built the Church *Derkelan*, within that Territory, which had been conferr'd upon him; and being made Bishop there, spent his Life in a Course of Holiness and Righteousness. Chap. IV.

'St. *Patrick* gave his Benediction to the foresaid *Fergus*, and with a Prophetical Voice thus spake to him. *Though this Day you seem mean and despicable in the Eyes of your Brothers, yet in a short Time you shall be the Chief of them all. From thee shall arise the Best Kings, who shall reign not only in their own Country, but in a Far and Foreign Region.* Not long after *Fergus*, according to the Prophesie of this Man of God, obtain'd the Principality of that whole Country, and reign'd in it for many Generations. Of his Progeny was the Mighty *Edan*, the Son of *Gabran*, who subdued that *Scotland* which is called *Albang*, and other Isles, whose Posterity still reigns successively therein. Thus *Jocelin* in the Life of *Patrick*.

For Confirmation of this, 'tis added, 'That concerning *Fergus*, the Great Grandfather of this *Edan* or *Æidan*, we find in the *Irish* Annals of *Tigernacus*, that in the Year 498, Six

Years

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'Years after the Death of *Patrick*, *Feargus* 'mor mac Earca, that is, *Fergus*, the Great Son 'of *Ercus*, *with the People of* Dalrieda, *poſſeſ-* 'ſed Part *of* Britain, *and there he died.* Alſo 'an Ancient Author, cited by *Camden*, ſays, That 'Fergus, *the Son of* Erick, *was the firſt of the* 'Seed *of* Chonar, *who received the Kingdom of* 'Albany *from* Brun-Albain, *to the* Iriſh *Seas and* 'Inch-gall, (or the Iſland, of the *Hebrides*) *and* 'that *from thence Kings of the Seed of* Fergus 'reigned *in* Brun-Albain, *or* Brunhere, *unto* Al- 'pine *Son of* Eochal. With which agree our 'Ancient *Iriſh* Genealogies, which deduce this 'Fergus from that *Chonar* who had the Chief 'Principality of *Ireland*, about the Year of our 'Lord 215.

We need not ſtrain our Faith in St. *Patrick*'s Gift of Propheſie, *Jocelin* wrote his Life long after *Fergus* had obtain'd the Kingdom of *Albany*; many Things after they come to paſs are put upon the Spirit of Propheſie. 'Tis all one to us whether it be Hiſtorical or Prophetical, if it had not been a true Peice of Hiſtory it would never have been made a feigned Propheſie. However, 'tis much more reaſonable to adhere to this and other Teſtimonies of diſintereſted Nations, than to follow the Relations of Modern *Scotiſh* Writers, who without any Foundation are obſtinate againſt all the Hiſtories of the World.

Now we have ſeen the Original of the *Scots*, we will proceed to the Knowledge of their Affairs in *Britain*; which Biſhop * *Lloyd* lays before us under Three Heads of the greateſt Importance: They are diſpatch'd ſo ſuccinctly, and yet ſo fully, that they cannot be better repreſented than in his own Words. 'It may be worth

'our

* *Church Hiſt.* Great Brit. *and* Ireland, p. 32.

'our Enquiry to know, 1. What Countries 'they were poſſeſſed of. 2. How afterwards 'they inlarged their Quarters, till, 3. At laſt 'they gave the Name to ſo great a part of the 'Iſland.

'1. Where the *Scots* firſt planted in *Britain*. 'If we had no Account of the Place, we ſhould 'look for it ſomewhere near their own Country: 'And there is a Part of *Britain* ſo near it, that 'the Sea is not above 16 Miles over between 'the Two Iſlands. The next Part of *Ireland* is 'that *Routh* beforemention'd, which was Anci-'ently call'd *Dalrieda*; that is, the Part or 'Portion of *Ri Eda*, or King *Eda*, if there 'were ſuch a Perſon. But we are told by Biſhop '*Uſher*, from the old *Iriſh* Genealogiſts, that 'there was ſuch a Perſon, Son of *Chonar*, King 'of *Ireland*; and that his Father gave him the 'Dominion of this Country, which deſcended 'from him to *Fergus*, being one of his Line-'age.

'That from hence *Fergus* brought his *Scots* 'into *Britain*, we are told by Biſhop *Uſher*, from 'Old *Iriſh* Annals, that were written before the 'Year 1100. Theſe are the Words, *Fergus* '*Mor Mac Ere*, with the Nation of *Dalried*, 'held Part of *Britain*, and there died. Whereas 'theſe *Scots* are called the Nation of *Dalried*, 'it ſeems to me to interpret thoſe Words of '*Bede*, where he ſaith of them in *Britain*, *They* '*are call'd* Dalreudini *to this Day*. It ſeems 'they brought over their Name with them, and 'gave it to their Country in *Britain*, from which *Bede* by Miſtake thought they receiv'd 'it.

'But that here, as well as in *Ireland*, their Country had the Name of *Dalried*, we find

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'in the Lord *Burleigh*'s Manuscript, which *Camden* very often quotes as a very ancient Piece, that it was called *the Kingdom of* Dalried; which I take to be the same, that is called *the Kingdom of* Argile, elsewhere in the same Manuscript.

'That this was their Seat, it farther appears from the Bounds that are given their Country in *Britain*; both in the Time of King *Fergus*, and afterwards for some Hundreds of Years: For *Camden* tells us from his Manuscript, that the Bounds of King *Fergus*'s Kingdom were from *Brun-Albain* to the Sea of *Ireland*, and the *Hebrides*. And we find in *Adamnanus*, that beyond *Drum-Albain* was the Kingdom of the *North-Picts*, and that the River *Ness* was within the Bounds of their Kingdom: And in a Work of his, which is not published, he saith, that the Mountains of *Drum-Albain* were between the *Scots* and *Picts*.

'Which being compar'd with what has been said before, That in *Bede*'s Time those Mountains divided the *North Picts* and the *South Picts*; and again, That in his Time the *Scots* dwelt Northwards of *Dunbritton-frith*, by which they were separated from the *Britains*, who then lived *South* of the *Frith*, and who had the City of *Dun-britton* in Possession: These Things taken together make it plain, That the Kingdom of *Dalried*, or *Argile*, which was all that the *Scots* had in *Britain*, was divided Northward by *Loquhaber* Hills from the *North Picts*, Eastward by *Lomond* Hills from the *South Picts*, Southward by *Dunbritton-frith* from the *Britains*, and Westward it was bounded by the *Irish* Sea.

'So

'So that Biſhop *Uſher* well gathers, it con- Chap. IV.
'tained all thoſe Countries that are now called
'*Cantire*, *Knapdale*, *Lorn*, *Argile*, and *Braid-*
'*Albain*, with the neighbouring Iſles.

'What he ſaith of the Iſles muſt not be ex-
'tended too far; for *Bede* ſaith, the Iſle of
'*Hy*, which was one of the neareſt to *Dalried*,
'belong'd to the *North Picts*, and was by their
'King *Bridius* given to *Columba* for his Monaſtery.
'But that all the reſt he mentioneth belong to
'the *Scots*, I am confirmed by that firſt Divi-
'ſion of *Scotland* that *Camden* gives us out of
'his Manuſcript; which is only the Kingdom
'of the *Picts*, containing all beyond the Two
'*Friths*, except thoſe Five Countries. And by
'what followeth there, in the Second Diviſi-
'on, where the Kingdom of *Argile* is added by
'it ſelf, it appears that this was all the *Scots* had
'in *Britain* till their Conqueſt of the *Picts*,
'which we are next to conſider.

'I do not know that any Writer hath men-
'tioned the Occaſion of the *Scots* coming to live
'in this Iſland, but I find that which may give
'ſome Ground for a probable Conjecture at the
'Reaſon of their coming: For we are told,
'That when the *Saxons* had begun with the
'*Britains*, and had made ſome Progreſs in Con-
'quering the Southern Part of this Iſland, there
'came out of *Germany* a freſh Party of them,
'in Forty Keels (which was then a very great
'Fleet) over *Edenburg-frith*, and *poſſeſſed them-*
'ſelves of divers Countries in this Iſland, as
'far as the Confines of the Picts; that is, as
'I underſtand him, they Conquered thoſe Parts
'from the *Forth* to the *Tine*, which were after-
'wards called the Kingdom of *Bernicia*; and
'there began the Dominion of the *Northumbrian*
'*Saxons*.

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'This could not but give the *Picts* a very 'great Apprehenſion of Danger, and there was 'little Hope of Aſſiſtance from the *Britains*, 'from whom the *Saxons* had conquer'd thoſe 'Countries: Therefore I conjecture they invi- 'ted over that Colony of the *Scots*, being a 'People with whom they had been in League 'for many Ages, and had then receiv'd ſo ma- 'ny Proofs of their Courage and Friendſhip.

'I the rather believe this, becauſe I do not 'find in Ancient Writers that there was any 'Breach between the Two Nations, as there 'muſt have been if the *Scots* had come by Force 'into their Country: And yet the *Saxons* be- 'ing wiſer than to make too many Enemies at 'once, it doth not appear that theſe *Scots* had 'any Occaſion to ſhew their Valour till King '*Ædan*'s Time. Then in the Year 603, (which 'I reckon to be juſt an Hundred Years after 'their coming into *Britain*) that Prince, having 'a Jealouſie of *Æthelfrid*, King of the *Nor- 'thumbrian Saxons*, growing too great for him, 'began a War; which was ſoon determined in 'One Battel, with the Loſs of his whole Army. 'And *from that Time* (ſaith *Bede*, who writ '120 Years after) *there hath not been any King 'of the* Scots *that hath ventur'd to come into* 'Britain, *to fight againſt the Nation of the* Eng- 'liſh Saxons *to this Day.*

To make this the more remarkable, ſaith '*Bede*, towards the End of his Hiſtory, *The* 'Scots *that dwell in* Britain *are content with 'their own Quarters, and do not carry on Plots 'or Deſigns againſt the Nation of the* Engliſh. 'Others that liv'd Eight or Nine Hundred Years 'later, have told us of great Wars and Victories 'that they had within that Space of Time; but

'I

'I ſhould rather believe *Bede*, who lived then, and had ſpent all his Time in their Neihgbourhood. Chap. IV.

'It ſeems the *Scots* were content with their Quarters for near ſo much longer Time after *Bede* had done writing; for in a Hundred Years more we find no Change in the Peopling of this Iſland, ſave what the *Saxons* made in going on with their Conqueſt upon the *Britains*. They had in *Bede*'s Time driven them out of the Country of *Galloway*, and taken from them *Candida Caſa*, or *Whithern*, which was their Epiſcopal See, and fill'd it with *Saxon* Biſhops, (of whom our moſt Learned *Uſher* hath gathered a Succeſſion till after the Year 800).

'After *Bede*'s Death, in the Year 750, they drove the *Britains* out of *Kyle*, and the other Countries thereabout, and added them to the Kingdom of *Northumbria*, as we are told by a Writer of that Age: And about Six Years after they took the City of *Alcluid*, or *Dunbritton*; which perfected their Conqueſt of the *Weſtern Lowlands*, as they are now called.

'There yet remained another Part of thoſe that were called *Stratclud-wealas*, which is (as I gueſs) the *Claidſdale Welſh*, rather than the Painted *Britains*, as *Whelock* rendreth it. Theſe ſeem to have had their chief Seat at *Glaſco*, from whence their Country extended to the South toward *Cambria*, which was another Petty Kingdom of the *Britains*, and that reached as far as the Croſs upon *Stanmore* in *Weſtmorland*.

'How they ſped afterwards it ſhall be ſhewn in due time, but at preſent they ſeem to have eſcaped by the Diſſentions that were among

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'their Enemies; which Diſſentions roſe to that 'Height, that in the Year 749, *Ethelred* King 'of the *Northumbrians*, was kill'd by his own 'People, their Biſhops fled out of the Country, 'and the whole Frame of their Government 'was diſſolv'd: *So that for Three and Thirty 'Years, they were a Prey and a Sport to all their 'Neighbours. Guil. Malm. Hiſt. Reg. Angl. lib.* 3. 'And they could never unite themſelves more 'into one Body or Nation.

The laſt thing propoſed, How the *Scots* came to be Maſters of all *Albany*, and by ſubduing the *Picts* to give the Name to ſo great a Part of the Iſland, is a Piece of Hiſtory of ſo great Importance, and ſo little known in the World, that 'tis worth the while to give Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s Quotations at large. No Foreign Nations were concern'd therein, and therefore we can have the Account of this great Turn of Affairs only from their own Hiſtorians, who write ſo different in this Relation from the uſual Strain of magnifying every Action, that it may be taken as very credible; eſpecially ſince the concurrent Circumſtances of this Time, wherein the *Danes* invaded *Britain*, make the Cauſe of this Revolution highly probable. The Account is thus given out of *Fordon*'s *Scotichronicon*.

Uſher *Prim. pag.* 716. *Anno* 850.

'Kenedus *raged with ſuch Fury, not only 'againſt Men, but even againſt Women and 'Children, that he ſpared none, either for the 'ſake of Sex or Sacred Orders; but every living 'Creature, that he did not carry away with him, 'he either kill'd or burnt. 'Twas in the Sixth 'Year of his Reign, when the* Daniſh *Pirates, 'ſeizing upon the Sea Coaſts of the* Picts, *had 'with a terrible Deſtruction waſted all thoſe 'Parts, that* Kenedus *himſelf, paſſing over thoſe*

'*Moun-*

'*Mountains, which were his Bounds, and are* '*called* Drum-Albare, *lying in a manner as the* '*Back-bone of* Scotland, *turn'd his Arms upon* '*the Borders of the* Picts; *many of them being* '*ſlain, he compell'd the reſt to fly, and ſo obtain'd* '*the Monarchy of both Kingdoms.*

'This may be farther inlarged by what *John* '*Major* ſays: *I find it Recorded, that* Kenedus '*was ſeven times in one Day invaded by the de-* '*ſperate* Picts, *and as often routed them: He* '*was continually in Arms, making them fly be-* '*fore him. Afterwards he returned to* Scone, '*and there beheaded* Druſco, *King of the* Picts. '*Thus* Kenedus *put an end to the Kingdom of* '*the* Picts, *after it had continu'd in* Britain *above* '800 *Years, and added it to his own Empire. I* '*very much deteſt his Inhumanity towards the* '*Servants of God, towards Women and Children;* '*civiliz'd Pagans are not wont to exerciſe ſuch* '*Rage againſt thoſe that are not capable of ma-* '*king War. But,* ſays he, *whether the* Scots '*ſeiz'd upon thoſe Countries juſtly or unjuſtly, they* '*at laſt poſſeſs them juſtly; for that which is not* '*in the Power of another, devolves upon the Oc-* '*cupant.*

It is not probable, that when the *Danes* were plundering and deſtroying the *Picts*, they ſhould ſeven times in one Day invade *Kenedus*; nor are we to rely upon the *Picts* coming into *Scotland* 800 Years before, which was about the Time of the Incarnation of our Saviour, though the *Romans* had never us'd that Name for 300 Years after. Yet this Hiſtory of *Kenedus* might be true in the main, which being but in the ninth Century, the Memory of it might be preſerved, eſpecially ſince a famous Diſtich has made it the general Opinion of the whole Nation:

Primus in Albaniâ fertur regnasse Kenedus,
Filius Alpini, *prælia multa gerens.*

Kenedus, Son of *Alpin*, many Battels gain'd;
'Tis said he was the first in *Albany* that reign'd.

The King of *Scots* was now indeed first King of *Albany*, before he was only King of *Dalreida*, or *Argyle*, as it was bounded by the *Frith* of *Dunbritton*, the Mountains of *Drum-Albain*, and the *Irish* Sea; but having gain'd the Kingdom of the *Picts*, and commanding to the Eastern Ocean, he acquired a new Title; but was not yet stiled King of *Scotland*, till the *English Saxon* Kings resign'd all the Lowlands to him between the *Frith* of *Edenburg* and the River *Twede*.

This was done by the *English* Monarchs, to preserve the Northern Parts of their Dominions, which lay fartheſt from them, from the Fury of the *Danes*; so that the Disturbances and Devastations of those People, first rais'd, and afterwards enlarged the Kingdom of *Scotland*. For now the Sovereign Power of such a considerable Territory being in their Hands, and they treating as Absolute Princes with other Nations, they at last gave the Name to all the North of *Britain*; and having obtained that, would be esteemed the Ancient Natives of the Country. But that they were translated from *Ireland*, which now for Distinction sake goes only by its own Old Name, is undeniable; and whence they came thither, can be as little doubted; since when the World was first acquainted with them, they went universally by the Name of *Scythians*.

But

But what are theſe in reſpect of *Scotland* at preſent? Was not the Kingdom of the *Picts* taken by it ſelf, incomparably better than all *Dalreida*? How much more the *Saxon* Kingdom of *Bernicea*, which muſt needs be moſt prevalent, (except under the Devaſtations of War) ſince it has given the Language to all the civiliz'd Nation? Indeed when the Kingdoms of *Scots* and *Picts* were firſt united, a *Scythian* got Poſſeſſion of the Throne; but now the very Name of the Royal Family may convince us that the Scepter is in the Hands of the *Saxons*: They are *Engliſh* as we are, the whole Body of the Nation are our Brethren; and as ſuch, if we be not carried away by the Miſunderſtanding of a Foreign Name, and the Prevalence of a Foreign Intereſt, we ſhall at laſt become entirely one. Chap. IV.

If we look upon Church Affairs, we ſhall find that *Britain*, whilſt it was a Province of the *Roman* Empire, propagated Chriſtianity among her Neighbours; that even thoſe Places which were not conquer'd by the *Roman*, became ſubject to the Dominion of Chriſt. This will bring us to a Review of thoſe Countries we have been treating of, and we ſhall find what Progreſs Religion made in the ſeveral Revolutions.

As *Ireland* was firſt peopled from *England*, ſo the unmix'd Natives muſt needs be of the ſame Language: After that the *Romans* had long convers'd with the *Britains*, the Language might be ſomething alter'd, but not ſo much as to hinder the Intercourſe of thoſe that underſtood one another before. Since then the Miraculous Gift of Tongues ceas'd, no People were ſo capable of communicating the Knowledge of the true Religion to the *Iriſh* as the *Britains*. Not only the general

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general Zeal of advancing the Honour and Empire of their Saviour put them upon it, but the Affection they bore to a People that were once the same with themselves, and who by the Nearness of their Situation might be easily visited, must needs propagate that Salvation, which they valued more than the whole World.

Archbishop *Usher* gives us an Account, That in the Time of the Emperor *Constantius*, there were not only Christian People, but several Bishops in *Ireland*. * 'I now return to the Times 'of *Constantius*, in which those Four, who pre- 'ceded St. *Patrick* in the Work of Religion, 'were thought to be born; we read of them in 'the Life of *Declanus*. *Four most holy Bishops, with 'their Disciples, were in* Ireland *before* Patrick, 'preaching *Christ in it*, viz. Ailbeus, Declanus, 'Ibarus, *and* Kiaranus; *and these, by the Evan- 'gelical Net, drew many to Christ: But yet 'St.* Patrick *converted those that were greater, 'and more powerful in* Ireland, *to the Faith; 'and had himself the Chief Archbishoprick of all* 'Ireland. Their Lives are written at large, but there is so much of the Legend in them, that (as it has happen'd to many of the greatest Princes and Martyrs) we can be sure of little more, than that there were such Persons Eminent in their Generations.

* Prim. Brit. Eccl. Pag. 781.

As the *Irish* receiv'd Christianity before the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, so did the *South Picts*, by the Charity of a neighbouring Bishop, who was indeed originally of the same Country with themselves, though not under the same Secular Government: But as the true Christian Religion makes no Disturbances in the State, so the Propagating of it is not to be confin'd within the Bounds

Bounds of worldly Power. *Bede* gives us this Account of their Converſion. Chap. IV.

'The *South Picts*, who dwelt within thoſe 'Mountains [of *Grampius*] a great while be- 'fore *Columba*'s Time, (as they ſay) forſaking 'the Error of Idolatry, received the true Faith; 'that moſt Reverend and Holy Man, Biſhop *Ny-* 'nias, preaching the Goſpel to them. He was 'of the *Britiſh* Nation, regularly inſtructed at 'Rome in the Faith and Myſteries of the Truth. 'His Epiſcopal Seat, by the Name of St. *Mar-* 'tin's, with a Famous Church, (where he, with 'many other Saints, lye buried) is at this Time 'in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Nation. The 'Place belongs to the Province of *Bernicia*, and 'is commonly called *Candida Caſa*, or the White 'Cottage, becauſe he built a Church there of 'Stone, which is not uſual with the *Britains*.

Ann. 412. Lib. 3. cap. 4.

That we may be ſure where to find theſe Converted People, Archbiſhop *Uſher* remarks,

'* That the *South Picts*, whom *Ninian* Conver- 'ted to the Chriſtian Frith, are not to be ſought 'for in *Lauden* or *Galloway*; but that they are 'rather ſituated in the Countries between *Bodo-* 'tria; that is, the Frith of *Edenburg* and 'Mount *Grampius*. And here, as we read in his 'Life, *He ordain'd Presbyters, conſecrated Bi-* 'ſhops, *divided the whole Country into Pariſhes,* 'and having confirm'd them in the Faith, return'd 'to his own Church.

* Prim. Eccl. Brit. Pag. 668.

'Afterwards *Oſwy*, King of *Northumberland*, 'for the moſt part ſubdued and made tributary 'the Pictiſh and Scotiſh Nations, which inha- 'bit the Northern Borders of Britain. *Bed. lib.* '2. *cap.* 5. *And* Wilfrid, *Archbiſhop of* York, 'not only managed the Epiſcopacy of the Nor- 'thumbrians, *but alſo of the* Picts, *as far as*

'King

Chap. IV. ‘ *King* Oſwy *could extend his Dominion.* Bed. ‘ *lib.* 4. *cap.* 3.

And that we may continue this Hiſtory a little further, becauſe it conduces much to the Knowledge of Affairs both in Church and State in the *Saxon* Time, we ſhall proceed in the Relation Uſher ibid. which our * Learned Author gives.

‘ In the Year 670 *Oſwy* died, and his Son ‘ *Egfrid* ſucceeded, who preſently after his Fa‘ ther's Death wholly ſubdued the revolting ‘ *Picts.* Thence it came to paſs, that in the ‘ Year 681, Three Years after that *Wilfrid* was ‘ expell'd from the See of *York*, Theodore Arch‘ biſhop of *Canterbury*, *ordain'd* Trumwine *to be* Bi‘ *ſhop of the Province of the* Picts, *which was then* ‘ *under the Empire of the* Engliſh, *Bed. lib.* 4. *cap.* 12.

‘ This *Trumwine* was preſent at a Synod held ‘ by *Theodore* at *Twiford*, near the River *Alne*, ‘ in the County of *Northumberland*, *Anno* 685. ‘ and is Witneſs to a Charter of King *Egfrid*'s, ‘ after this manner; *I* Trumwine, *Biſhop of the* ‘ Picts, *have ſubſcribed.* In the ſame Year *Eg*‘ *frid* being ſlain in the Province of the *Picts*, ‘ they recovered the Poſſeſſion of that Country ‘ which the *Engliſh* had held: And *Trumwine*, ‘ who had their Biſhoprick, retir'd with his to ‘ the Monaſtery in *Abercurnig*, which is indeed ‘ in the Country of the *Engliſh*, but in the ‘ Neighbourhood of that Sea which divides be‘ tween the Lands of the *Engliſh*, and the Lands ‘ of the *Picts*.

After theſe Converſions of the Native *Iriſh*, who were deſcended from the *Britains*, and thoſe *Picts*, who were their Kinſmen and Neighbours in the ſame Iſland, though under a different Civil Government; we muſt now come to other Converſions, which were made after a

new

new *Pagan* People had planted themſelves in theſe Iſlands. 'Twas an Hundred Years after we had an Account of the foremention'd *Iriſh* Biſhops, that *Proſper*, in his *Chronicon* at the Year 429, which is ſpecified by the Conſulſhip of *Florentius* and *Dionyſius*, relates a new Miſſion to *Ireland*: '*Ad Scotos in Chriſtum credentes, ordinatur a Papa Celeſtino Palladius, & primus Epiſcopus mittitur.* *Palladius* was ordain'd by Pope *Celeſtine*, and ſent firſt Biſhop to the *Scots*, who believ'd in Chriſt. Theſe *Scots* were certainly in *Ireland*, becauſe in thoſe Days there were never any of them heard of in any other Part of the World; and at the Time when *Proſper* put this into his *Chronicle*, *Hibernia* was for the moſt part call'd *Scotia*. But he did not find the *Scots* believing in Chriſt, and willing to receive the Goſpel, as the Old *Iriſh* had done, tho' they then went by the ſame Name. Theſe that now had the Command of the Country were a Barbarous *Scythian* People, and accordingly moſt obſtinate againſt the inviting Offers of Grace, as they are repreſented upon this Occaſion by the beſt Authors.

'*Probus*, in the Life of St. *Patrick*, ſays, 'That *Palladius* had been ſent before him by 'Pope *Celeſtine* to convert this Iſland; but God 'hindred him from converting that Nation of 'the *Scots*, for thoſe rugged and wild Men, '*immites & feri Homines*, would not receive 'his Doctrine, nor would he ſtay any long time 'in a Land that was not his, but was diſpos'd 'to return to him that ſent him; and when in 'order to this *Palladius* had paſs'd the Sea, and 'was come to the Confines of the *Picts*, there 'he died. In like manner *Joceline*, *Hibernis vero Prædicationi non credentibus, ſed obſtantiſſime*

Lloyd's Gr. Brit. *and* Ireland, *P.* 57.

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'*tissime oppugnantibus, a Regione illorum discessit*: That because the *Irish* believ'd not his Preaching, but most obstinately oppos'd him, he departed from their Country.

Thus much is plain, That *Palladius* could not leave the *Scots*, and go by Sea to the *Picts*, if they had been in *Britain*; but in that Age the *Scots* and *Irish* are taken promiscuously, because they dwelt in the same Island, and in that Island only. When the *Scots* first came into *Ireland*, it became Heathen and Barbarous; as *Britain* did upon the Arrival of the Heathen *Saxons*, after the Fall of the *Roman* Empire: And certainly much worse, because the *Scythians* living more to the North, were more Barbarous and Savage. St. *Jerome*, about the End of the Fourth Century, when the *Scots* came first to settle in *Britain*, tells a sad Story of some of them, whom he met with * rambling in *Gaul*.

* Hieron. Ep. 2. contra Jovinianum.

'*Cum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Scotos, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus, & cum per silvas porcorum greges, & armentorum, pecudumq; reperiant, pastorum nates & fœminarum papillas solere abscondere, & has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari.* 'When I was a Youth I saw in *Gaul* some '*Scots*, a *British* People, that fed upon Man's 'Flesh; and though they found in the Woods 'Herds of Swine, and other great and small 'Cattle, yet they were wont to hide the But-'tocks of the Keepers, and the Breasts of Wo-'men, and esteem them the most delicious 'Meat.

No Wonder that People of such Inclinations obstinately refus'd the most perfect Rules of Humanity; it is rather a Miracle of Divine Grace that they became Christians so soon after. But in

in the first Attempt they broke the Heart of the Missionary *Palladius*, who passed over to the *Picts*, who were of the same Original, and accordingly much of the same Language with the *Irish*, to whom he was first sent, had *Ireland* remained the same it had been within an Hundred Years before, and there died within one Year after he had entred upon his most pious and charitable Employment. Chap. IV.

But no Indisposition can be too hard for him who taketh away the *Heart of Stone*, and giveth a *Heart of Flesh*; Divine Grace can powerfully cure all the Corruptions of Nature: And accordingly God was pleas'd presently after to raise up St. *Patrick*, and to give him Success over all the *Irish* Nation. The whole History of this is so well collected by Bishop *Lloyd*, that we cannot be better inform'd than by taking his Account of it.

'* To say no more of the Effects of *Palladius*'s 'Apostleship among the *Irish*, or any where 'else, than we have from ancient Writers, that 'is very little more than nothing; the Honor of 'converting the Generality of that Nation was re-'serv'd for St. *Patrick*, who came thither within 'one Year after the sending of the other, and 'he is generally acknowledged to have been the 'Apostle of that Nation.

* *Ch. Gov. Gr. Brit. and Ireland Pag.* 88.

'Before we come to shew what he did in 'that Ministry, it will be easie to judge what 'he would do concerning Church Government, 'if we consider him in all his former Relations. 'For first, he was born in the *Roman* Province 'of *Britain*, which was enough to engage both 'his Judgment and Affections to the Government 'of Bishops, it being then the only Form that 'was in his Country, not to say (as I just-

'ly

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'ly may) the only Form that ever was among 'Christians.

'But besides, we are told (*Nennius c.* 52. 'that he had all Three Orders in his own Fami'ly; his Father *Caspurnius* was a Deacon, his 'Grandfather *Potitus* a Priest, and his Mother's 'Brother, St. *Martin*, was Bishop of *Tours* in 'France. In his younger Travels he was taken 'Captive, and carried into *Ireland*, where he 'was kept so for some Years. The Compassion 'that he then had for the People there, being 'altogether Heathens, was that which gave him 'the first Impulse to endeavour their Conversion. 'After he had his Liberty he came to live with 'his Uncle St. *Martin*; and after his Death, 'and a second Travel, he liv'd with St. *German*, 'Bishop of *Auxerre:* Both these were Dioce'san Bishops, of whom the first made him *Dea'con*, the second made him *Priest*, which was a 'further Engagement to *Episcopacy*.

'St. *German* having heard of the Death of '*Palladius*, persuaded him to take the Duty 'upon himself, as he formerly design'd, to go 'and preach the Faith in that Country. In or'der to this, being first ordain'd *Bishop* in *France*, 'he went afterwards to Pope *Celestine*, who 'was the best able to furnish him with Neces'saries, and who had already shewed his Good-will 'to the Design, by sending *Palladius* thither be'fore him. And that Pope did for him, as he 'had done for *Palladius*; that is, he made him '*Archbishop*, and gave him all Accommodations 'for the Work; which was thought enough to 'entitle him to the good Success of it.

'But by the way, however that *Pope* had the 'Credit of it, our *Britains* were all that 'wrought in that Conversion: For as *Patrick* 'himself

'himself was one of this Nation, so were all 'the rest that he took with him for his Assi- 'stants. Of whom *Nennius* names these Three, '*Segerus* a Bishop, *Auxillius* a Priest, and *Yser-* '*ninus* a Deacon, that were all ordained with 'him, as he saith, by the Holy Bishop *Ama-* '*theus*, who first gave him (that before was cal- 'led *Moun*) the Name of *Patricius*. Chap. IV.

'Being now come into *Ireland*, he laboured 'there with great Success; and having in a few 'Years made the Island Christian (as there '*Prosper* tells us) he formed it into Dioce- 'san Churches: He ordain'd Thirty Bishops of 'those *Britains* that came to him; he placed 'his own See at *Armagh*, which he made the '*Metropolis*: There he sat as Archbishop and 'Primate of *Ireland*, there he held his Yearly 'Synod, and did all other Things according to 'the Paterns that he had seen in other Countries.

'No Man that writes of the Church Mat- 'ters of *Ireland* speaks of any thing there in 'those times, which was otherwise than it was 'in the Churches of the *Roman* Empire. And 'for the Sees which were then founded in '*Ireland*, we have an Account of many of their 'Bishops, in that Work which Sir *James Ware* 'has publish'd concerning the Prelates of *Ire-* '*land*; where also he shews how in some of 'those Sees the Succession has been continued 'ever since till our Age.

Thus were the *Scots* Converted before they were transplanted into *Britain*; for St. *Patrick* was the Man who interceded with the Brothers of *Fergus the Great*, that he might have his Share in the Inheritance of *Dalrieda*; and also foretold, as 'tis said, that he should reign not only in his own Country, but in a Foreign Re-

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gion. There remained then only the *North Picts* in those *Britannick* Islands, who were still Heathens, of whose Conversion * *Bede* gives us the following Account.

* *Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 4.

'In the Year of our Lord's Incarnation 565, 'when *Justin* the Less, after *Justinian*, managed the Helm of the *Roman* Empire, there 'came out of *Ireland* into *Britain* a Presbyter and Abbot, a Monk in Life and Habit, 'very Famous, and by Name *Columba*, to 'Preach the Word of God to the Provinces of the '*North Picts*, that is, to those who by steep and 'vast Ridges of Mountains are separated from 'those that dwell in the *South*. This *Columba* came into *Britain* when King *Bridius*, Son 'of *Meilochon*, a most Potent Prince, Reigned 'over the *Picts*: It was in the Ninth Year 'of this Reign that by his Preaching and 'Example he converted this Nation to the 'Faith of Christ. Upon this Account was 'the Possession of the Island [*Hy*] given him 'for making a Monastery. 'Tis not great, but 'sufficient for the Maintenance of Five Families, according to the Estimation of the *English*. 'Here he lyes buried, after he had attain'd the 'Age of 72 Years, and had spent 32 of them 'in Preaching after his Arrival in *Britain*.

'Before he came into *Britain* he had made 'a Noble Monastery in *Ireland*, which from the 'abundance of Oaks is called in the Language 'of the *Scots De Armach*, that is, the Field of 'Oaks. From both which Monasteries very 'many other Monasteries have by his Disciples been propagated in *Britain* and *Ireland*: 'Over all which this Island-Monastery, where 'he lyes buried, has a Supreme Government. 'That Island is always wont to have a Presby-

'ter

'ter Abbot for its Rector; to whoſe Juriſdicti- Chap. IV.
'on the whole Province, and even the Biſhops
'themſelves, after an unuſual or inverted Or-
'der, *Ordine inuſitato*, ought to be ſubject. Ac-
'cording to the Example of that firſt Doctor,
'who was no Biſhop, but a Presbyter and Monk.
'Concerning whoſe Life and Doctrine ſome
'Things are ſaid to be written by his Diſciples:
'But whatſoever he himſelf was, this we are
'ſure of, that he had Succeſſors very Eminent
'for their great Continence and Love of God,
'as well as their Regular Inſtitutions.

This being the Grand Piece of Hiſtory upon which the *Scots* found their Right of Preſbyterian Government, I have given it at large, and ſhall here add what Biſhop *Lloyd* anſwers upon the Occaſion, which ought to be of undeniable Authority, becauſe it is taken out of the Life of *Columba*, written by * *Adamnanus*, who was Succeſſor to *Columba* in the *Scotiſh* Iſle of *Hy* in the Year 690: He was Presbyter and Abbot there as *Columba* himſelf was, and therefore able to give us not only what was the Opinion of *Columba*, but what was his own Opinion, and the Opinion of the reſt of the Abbots and Presbyters in *Scotland*.

* Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. *Lib.* 2.

'*Columba*, even in the Iſland *Hy*, acknow-
'ledged the Superiority of the Epiſcopal Or-
'der; and that he did not think Biſhops un-
'neceſſary, even in his Monaſtery; Theſe Two
'Things I ſhall ſhew out of the little that
'remains to us of thoſe Times.

* Lloyd *Ch. Gov.* Chap. 5. P. 100.

'Firſt, That *Columba* did acknowledge the
'Superiority of the Epiſcopal Order above that
'which he had, being a Prieſt, and that even
'in his own Monaſtery. Of this I ſhall give
'an Inſtance out of his Life, writ by his Suc-

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'ceſſor *Adamnanus*, who was Abbot of *Hy* 'when *Bede* was but Seven Years old, and both 'for the Place and Time when he liv'd was 'very capable of being a Witneſs of what he 'writes.

'He tells us, that there came to *Columba* in '*Hy* one that demean'd himſelf as humbly as 'he could, that none might know that he was 'a Biſhop. But yet that could not be con-'ceal'd from the Holy Man *Columba*: For 'One Lord's Day, the Holy Man having order'd 'him at the Communion to Conſecrate with 'him, according to the Cuſtom, he called to 'the Holy Man that they might Break the 'Lord's Bread together, as Two Prieſts us'd to 'do in their Way of Conſecration. *Ut ſimul 'quaſi duo Presbyteri Dominicum panem frange-'rent.* The Holy Man therefore coming to 'the Altar, on the ſudden *Columba* look'd him 'in the Face, and ſaid to him, *Chriſt bleſs thee, 'my Brother, break this Bread alone, as a Bi-'ſhop uſes to do. Hunc ſolus Epiſcopus Epiſ-'copali ritu frange panem.* Now we know 'that thou art a Biſhop. Why haſt thou hi-'therto endeavour'd to conceal thy ſelf, that 'we might not give thee due Veneration? *Ut 'tibi a nobis debita non redderetur veneratio.* 'TheſeWords of *Columba* to a Biſhop do ſuffici-'ently ſhew that he acknowledg'd the Epiſcopal 'Order ſuperior to his own Order of Presbyter, 'which was the firſt thing I undertook to prove.

'The other is, that *Columba* did acknowledge 'that Biſhops were neceſſary for the ordain-'ing of others into the Miniſtry. That he did 'not think Biſhops unneceſſary, it appears, in 'that there was always One in his Monaſtery,

'as

'as Biſhop *Uſher* tells us out of the *Ulſter* An- Chap. IV.
'nals.

This is of ſuch Importance, that it may be worth the while to inſert * Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s own Words: '*Exiguam illam inſulam non Ab-*
'*batem ſolum, ſed etiam Epiſcopum habuiſſe Ul-*
'*tonienſes nos docent Annales.* The Ulſter *Annals*
'*inform us, that that little Iſland had not only*
'*an Abbot, but alſo a Biſhop.* And then proceeds out of the ſame Annals to give us the Names of the firſt Ten Abbots of *Hy*, whereof *Adamnanus* was the Eighth. Our Reverend Author thus further argues.

* *Prim. Eccl. Brit. p. 701.*

'And why could not the Abbot live there with-
'out a Biſhop? Sure it was to do ſomething, which
'without the Help of a Biſhop he could not
'do himſelf, neither ſingly nor in Conjunction
'with the reſt of his Clergy: And whatſoever
'that was, it was part of an Office that made
'the Biſhop more than a Name. Of this Sort,
'as there was one always reſident in the Mo-
'naſtery, ſo there was, as *Bede* tells us, *A Biſhop*
'*of all the Provinces*, whether the ſame with
'the Reſident, or another, I cannot find. And
'beſides, there were commonly more Biſhops
'coming and going; ſuch as either came on Vi-
'ſits, or were driven out of their Country, or
'retired thither from the World.

'For their Monaſteries were the Univerſities
'of that Age; and tho' the greateſt Part of the
'Monks were *Laymen*, that maintain'd them-
'ſelves by working with their own Hands;
'yet what *Clergy* they had in thoſe Days were
'bred up in theſe *Monaſteries*, and there for
'lower Orders they were ordain'd by the Re-
'ſident Biſhop. To ordain another Biſhop

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'the Resident might have others there to join 'with him, though if more could not be had 'one might do in Case of Necessity. *Usher's* Religion of *Ireland*, c. 8. p. 78.

It is here necessary to give an Account of the ancient Monasteries, because the Words of *Bede* seem to make the Bishops subject to the Presbyter Abbot. *That Island is always wont to have a Presbyter Abbot for its Rector, to whose Jurisdiction the whole Province, and even the Bishops themselves, after an unusual Order ought to be subject.* These *Monasteries* we shall find to be Universities, and the *Rectors* of them may be invested with such a Civil Power as we do not deny to the *King*, and those that are put in Authority under him.

* Lloyd's *Ch. Gov. in* Gr. Brit. *and* Irel. p. 160.

* 'That these *Monasteries* were the *Schools* 'and *Universities* of those Times, wherein 'Men were bred up to Religion and Learning, 'this we find in many Instances. The most 'remarkable is that of the Monastery of *Bangor* among the *Britains*, in which there were, 'as *Bede* tells us, above 2000 Persons together 'in Seven Colledges, of which none had fewer 'than Three Hundred Monks in it. *This we 'may believe by what we see*, saith an Historian 'that writ Four Hundred Years after *Bede's* Time. '*We see*, saith he, *so many half ruin'd Walls of 'Churches, so many Windings of Portico's, so 'great a Heap of Ruins, as you shall scarce meet 'with elsewhere.* By these Accounts it seems 'in its flourishing Estate to have been not much 'less than One of our Universities at this 'Day.

And then for a Civil Power to be committed to the Rector of this Monastery, as superiour

'to

to the Eſpiſcopal; a Modern Parallel is given and allow'd. Chap. IV.

* 'It is no more ſtrange that it ſhould be 'ſo there, than that it is ſo now in many 'Places; and at *Oxford* particularly, where a 'Biſhop now lives, and is as well known to 'be a Prelate of the *Engliſh* Church as any 'other, the Government is veſted in the *Univer-'ſity* excluſive of him; and not only the *Chancel-'lor*, and his Duty, have Precedence of the *Biſhop*, 'but every private Scholar is exempt from 'his Cognizance and Juriſdiction: Yet not-'withſtanding this, if any one thus privi-'ledged happen'd to have a Parochial Cure, 'whether it be in the *Dioceſs* or *Univerſity* 'it ſelf, they become ſubject to the Biſhop, 'as others are: And if any Epiſcopal Act be 'to be perform'd, whether it be the Conſecra-'tion of the *Chappel*, of any *Colledge* or *Hall*, 'in the *Univerſity*; or Holy *Orders* or *Confir-'mation* be to be receiv'd by a private *Scho-'lar*, Recourſe is had unto the *Biſhop:* And 'in Caſe of *Ordination*, the Perſon ordain'd 'makes the ſame Recognition as others, *that 'he will reverently obey his Ordinary.*

* Lloyd *Ch. Gov.* p. 180.

'So that we ſee here the *Chancellor* and '*Scholars* have the ſame Authority by their 'Charter that King *Bridius* gave to *Columba* 'and his *Monks*; only it does not extend to 'the whole *Dioceſs*, but is limited according 'to the Pleaſure of our Kings, who might 'have extended it as far as they pleaſed; 'and yet a farther Extent of this Liberty, tho' 'it had been ſuch an Abridgment of the Epiſ-'copal Power, as was never known till Mon-'kery came into the Church, yet had not

Chap. IV. 'been a ſuppreſſing of the Order, which is the 'thing our Adverſaries drive at.

'How juſtly they of all Men inveigh againſt 'Monkery, that borrow their Paterns from 'their Innovations, and where thoſe will not 'reach, piece them out with their Fables, 'and do as it were endeavour to reſtore it, by 'their darkning the Church-Hiſtory, to de-'ſtroy the Government of it, theſe Things I 'leave to the Reader's Conſideration.

How much Power the King conferr'd upon the Rector of *Hy* is not certain; and therefore none can tell how far the Biſhops were ſubject to him. He who ſo liberally endow'd the Abbot, and very probably the Biſhop too, might there fix the Power of Nomination or Election: He might alſo give a Power to that Abbot to ſee that the Endowments of that Biſhop were not miſemploy'd. For it is not certain that there was more than One Biſhop in the Province of the *North Picts*, but by Reaſon of his Succeſſors more Biſhops than one might be mentioned, as having been ſubject to the Abbots of the Monaſtery. How many ſoever they were, it is fit they ſhould be ſubject to the Supreme Power where-ever placed, either in the Perſon of the King, or thoſe legally commiſſioned by him; or elſe how ſhall Princes be able to accompliſh the Promiſe of being * *Nurſing-Fathers and Nurſing-Mothers to the Church?*

* Iſa. 49. 23.

'Thus have we had the Converſion of all the People in both the *Britannick* Iſlands. Under the *Roman* Empire the *Britains* receiv'd the Chriſtian Faith, and communicated it to the ancient Inhabitants of *Ireland*, who were deſcended from them. The Southern *Picts* being

ing next Neighbours to the Northern *Britains*, had the Salvation of Chriſt made known to them by Biſhop *Ninian*, whoſe Dioceſe extended to their Borders. Much about the ſame time St. *Patrick* converted the *Scots* in *Ireland*; from whence came the Religious *Columba*, and did the ſame charitable Office for the Northern *Picts*. But the beſt Part of *Britain* fell into Paganiſm again by the coming in of the *Saxons*, of whom we are next to diſcourſe. Chap. IV.

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CHAP. V.

Of the Saxons.

AS to the Name *Saxons*, we may in the first Place take Notice of the Observation made by * Bishop *Stillingfleet*, that not One of the Three Names of the *German* Nations, by which the Empire, *Britain* and *France*, are peopled, was known in the Time of *Tacitus*. The *Almanni* are first spoken of by *Spartianus* in the Life of *Caracalla*; and as *Agathias* saith from *Asinius Quadratus*, *They were an Association of many People together, under that Name*, as the Word *Alman* imports. The Name of the *Franks* was first known in the Time of *Aurelian*, and took in several of the *German* Names, the *Sicambri*, *Catti*, *Teneteri*, and many others: They were a People that once lov'd their Freedom and Liberty, however now they retain only the Name. The *Saxons* was a general Name for the Northern *Germans*, who chiefly liv'd upon the Sea Shore, from the River *Amasis*, at the Mouth of which the City *Emden* stands, to the River *Eidore*, which is the North Bounday of *Ditmars* and *Holestein* in the *Cimbrick Chersonese*.

* *Antiq. Brit. Ch. Chap.* V.

After this learned Author had consider'd many Conjectures, which had been about the Etymology of this Name, he takes up with the following as most probable. 'That they had their 'Name at first from the short Swords, they 'did commonly wear, call'd *Sachs*; as the '*Quirites* had their Name from *Quiris*, a Sort 'of

of Spear; and the *Scythians* their's from *Scyt-ten*, to ſhoot with a Bow. And the Arms of *Saxony* to this Day, as *Pontanus* obſerves, *are Two ſhort Swords a-croſs.* This is made Famous by a Couple of old Rhiming Verſes inſerted in *Engelhuſius*'s *Chronicon.* Chap. V.

'*Quippe brevis Gladius apud illos* Saxa *vocatur,*
'*Unde Sibi nomen,* Saxo *traxiſſe putatur.*

'*Sachs* are the ſhort Swords which the *Saxons* wear,
'Their Name's derived from the Arms they bear.

But when and whence they came, and where they planted themſelves here in *Britain*, may be beſt known from *Bede*, who is the only conſiderable Hiſtorian thoſe that came over hither ever had: Whoſe account ſhall therefore be ſet down at large.

*From the Year of our Lord's Incarnation 449, * *lib.* 1. *cap.* 15.
'*Martianus* (with *Valentinian*) the Forty-ſixth 'from *Auguſtus*, having obtain'd the Empire, 'held it Seven Years. Then it was that the 'Nation of *Engliſh* or *Saxons* being invited by 'King [*Vortigern*] arrived in *Britain* in Three 'long Ships: They had by the Command of 'the King a Place of Abode aſſign'd them in the 'Eaſtern Part of the Iſland: They undertook to 'defend the Country, but it was a Defence that 'ended in a Conqueſt.

'Engaging therefore thoſe Enemies that came 'down from the *North*, the *Saxons* obtain'd the 'Victory; which was no ſooner known at Home, 'together with the Fruitfulneſs of the Iſland, 'and

Chap. V. ‘ and the Slothfulneſs of the *Britains*, but a ‘ much greater Fleet with ſtronger Forces was ‘ ſent after them, which, join'd with the former ‘ Troops, made an Invincible Army. The *Britains* ‘ gave thoſe that arrived a Place of Habitation ‘ among themſelves upon theſe Conditions, that ‘ the *Saxons* ſhould for the Peace and Safety of ‘ the Country fight againſt their Enemies, and ‘ they would give the Soldiers ſuch Pay as ſhould ‘ become due.

‘ There came Three Nations of the moſt va- ‘ liant People of *Germany*, the *Saxons*, the ‘ *Angles*, and the *Jutes*. Of the Original *Jutes* ‘ are the *Kentiſh* Men, thoſe that inhabit the ‘ *Iſle of Wight*, and that Nation of *Jutes*, ‘ which to this Day lives over-againſt the ‘ *Iſle of Wight*, in the Province of the Weſt *Sax-* ‘ *ons*.

‘ From the Country of thoſe who are now ‘ call'd the Old *Saxons*, are deriv'd the *Eaſt* ‘ *Saxons*, the *South Saxons*, and the *Weſt Sax-* ‘ *ons*.

‘ The Country of the *Angli*, which is called ‘ *Angulus*, and lyes between the Provinces of the ‘ *Jutes* and *Saxons*, is ſaid to lye deſert from ‘ the Time of their coming to this Day: From ‘ hence came the *Eaſt Angli*, the *Mediterranean* ‘ *Angli*, or *Mercii*, the whole Progeny of the ‘ *Northumbrians*; that is, thoſe Nations and ‘ other *Engliſh* People, who inhabit North of ‘ the River *Humber*.

‘ Their firſt Leaders are ſaid to be Two Bro- ‘ thers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*; *Horſa* was Slain in ‘ a Battle by the *Britains*, and has a Famous ‘ Monument, which ſtill bears his Name in the ‘ Eaſtern part of *Kent*. They were the Sons of ‘ *Wetgiſlus*, whoſe Father was *Vecta*, and his

‘ Fa-

'Father, *Woden*, from whom the Royal Fa-
'milies of many Provinces had their Origi-
'nals.

Archbiſhop *Uſher* gives us very exactly the Geography of thoſe Three Countries from whence theſe Three Nations came. This is his Account. 'Of the Three Provinces of *Germany*, 'from whence the New Colonies were brought, '*Jutland* ſtill retains its Ancient Name, and 'is very well known to be a Part of the Kingdom of *Denmark*. Thus *Jonas Koldingenſis* 'in the Deſcription of Modern *Denmark* ſays, 'that *Gothia is the moſt ſpacious and populous* '*Part of that Kingdom*; *the firſt Syllable of* '*which Name being a little corrupted, it now* '*retains One that is akin to it, and is called* 'Jutia. *Fabius Ethelwerd* calls the Province '*Giota*, and the Inhabitants *Giotos*: And it 'is with reſpect to theſe People that the King 'of *Denmark* is ſtill ſtiled King of the '*Goths*.

Prim. Eccl. Brit. Pag. 490.

'Old *England* is next to be conſider'd; it is 'ſituated (ſays *Ethelwerd*, and *William* of *Mal-*'*mesbury*, who follows him) between the *Sax-*'*ons* and *Giots*, or *Jutes*; the Capital Town is 'called in the *Saxons* Language *Sleſwick*, in 'the *Daniſh Haithaby*. 'Tis the moſt noted 'City of the Dutchy and Biſhoprick of *Sleſ-*'*wick*. *Adam* of *Bremen* thus deſcribes it: '*Sliaſwig*, which is alſo called *Heithebu*, is 'waſhed by an Arm of the *Baltick* Sea, named '*Slia*, from whence the City alſo got its Name. 'Between *Slia* and the Bay of *Flewburg* is '*Ethelwerds*'s Old *England* Situated. 'Tis ſtill 'called by the Inhabitants *Angien*, by *Albertus* '*Crantzius*, and thoſe that write in Latin, '*Anglia*.

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'*Saxony* borders upon Old *England*: In the 'Time of *Bede*, *Assarius* and *Ethelwerd*, it had 'the Name of *Ealdsece*, or the Country of the 'Ancient *Saxons*, and is situated in the *Cimbrick* '*Chersoneſe*. Accordingly *Stephanus Byzantius* 'ſays, Σάξονες, ἔθνος οἰκοῦν ἐν τῇ κιμβρικῇ χερ-ρονήσῳ. *The Saxons are a People inhabiting* '*in the Cimbrica Chersoneſus.* *Ptolomy* in his 'the Fourth Table of *Europe*, and *Marcianus* '*Heracleotes* in his *Periplus*, do more exactly 'deſcribe them to lye ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Κιμ-'βρικῆς χερσονήσου, upon the Neck of the *Cim-*'*brica Chersoneſus.* For Old *Saxony* was that 'Country, which becauſe it was ſtretch'd out 'from the River *Albis* or *Elb* towards the *North*, 'was afterwards called *Nortalbingia*, being 'bounded by the *Albis*, *Billa*, and *Trava*, in the 'Lower Part of it, by the *Eidore* and *Slia* in 'the Upper Part. And thoſe ſettle the Sou-'thern Boundary to his *Saxons*, between the 'Mouths of the Rivers *Elb* and *Traves* [the for-'mer running into the *German* Ocean, the other 'into the *Baltick* Sea] which latter now runs by 'the City *Lubeck*. *Adam* of *Bremen*, in his 'Book of *Denmark*, and of the Situation and 'Nature of the Northern Nations, deſcribes 'the North Part [of *Saxony*] in theſe Words: 'The Rivers *Eidore* divides *Denmark* from our '*Northalbigians*, it ariſes in the thick Forreſt of '*Iſaruho*, not far from the *Baltick* Sea, and the 'Lake *Slia*.

If a Man conſiders how many, and how ſpa-cious Countries the *Angli* and *Saxons* poſſeſs'd in *Britain*, he will think it impoſſible, though we doe ſuppoſe an extraordinary Multiplication of People, and *Anglen* to be exhauſted of its Inhabitants, that ever the *Cimbrica Chersoneſus* ſhould

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ſhould be able to fill all *England* with its Colonies: Eſpecially if we take in a Piece of Hiſtory, relating the Power and Populouſneſs of Old *Saxony* beyond the *Elb* in the time of *Charles the Great*, which was above an Hundred Years after all thoſe People were come away that ſettled in *Britain*. This, by Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, is thus laid before us.

'* But by this Account, all thoſe People, 'who came hither to aſſiſt the *Britains*, and 'after conquer'd them, and poſſeſs'd their 'Land, muſt come out of that *Cherſoneſe*, 'called *Jutland*, taking it in the largeſt Extent 'not only to the *Eidore*, but from the *Eidore* 'to the *Elb*. For if the *Angli* came from about '*Sleſwick*, and lay between the *Jutes* and the 'Old *Saxons*, then the *Jutes* poſſeſſed all that 'Part of the *Cherſoneſe*, which is now called 'the North *Jutland*. And the Southern *Jutland* 'takes within it all that was poſſeſſed by the '*Angli*; which reach'd no further than be-'tween *Sleſwick* and *Flensburgh*, which in the 'Modern Maps is ſtill called *Angelen*. And ſo 'the Country lying between the *Elb* and the *Ei-'dore*, comprehending *Holſtein*, *Dithmars* and '*Stormer*, muſt be the Seat of the Old *Saxons*: 'Which by *Adamus Bremenſis* and *Helmoldus* 'is called *Nortalbingia*, and by *Eginhartus* '*Saxonia Tranſalbiana*, by *Albertus Stadenſis*, '*Tranſalbia*: Where the *Saxons* remain'd in 'ſo great Numbers, that *Charles the Great* 'could not totally Subdue them, till after a 'War of above Thirty Years, as the foremen-'tioned Authors aſſure us.

* *Ant. Br. Ch.* c. 5. p. 313.

And *Eginhartus*, whoſe Authority is unqueſ-'tionable, ſaith, That *Charles* had no War 'more

Chap. V. 'more tedious or more fierce than that he had 'with the *Saxons:* And in the Concluſion of 'it he was forc'd to remove 10000 *Saxons* on 'both Sides the River *Elb*, and to diſperſe them 'into ſeveral Parts of the Empire.

Our Learned Author therefore propoſes a new Scheme for the Habitations of the *Saxons* out of *Reinerus Reineccius*, who would place them on this Side the *Elb*, and would extend their Bounds as far as the *Rhine:* * He alſo brings in the *Friſians* to make their Numbers greater, as mention'd by *Bede*, Lib. 5. Cap. But *Bede* does not there ſay that any of thoſe People were planted in *Britain*; only *that* Ecgberht *went into* Germany *to preach the Goſpel, knowing that there were many Nations, from whom the* Angli *and* Saxons *had their Original: The* Freſons, *the* Rugines, *the* Danes, *the* Huns, *the old* Saxons, *the* Boructuarians, *and many others in thoſe Parts were ſtill Pagans.*

* *Antiq.* Pag. 310.

It is very unſatisfactory to take up new Hypotheſes for ſolving Difficulties in Ancient Hiſtory: None can now know how Things then ſtood ſo well as the Authors who liv'd near the Time when they were tranſacted. Beſides, if we ſhould thus enlarge the Bounds of the *Saxons*, this will not at all help the *Angli* to a more ſpacious Country. If one moſt reaſonable Suppoſition be allow'd, we ſhall not want ſuch Multitudes as were neceſſary to People *England:* 'Tis this, that when the *Saxons* brought this Province of the *Roman* Empire under their Subjection, they did not deſtroy the unwarlike Multitudes, but preſerv'd ſuch as were fit for Trade and Husbandry, whilſt they themſelves by their armed Power had Command of all the Country. Thus the *Romans* did before

fore them, who only purſued the *Picts* that would not be perſuaded to yield, and lay down their Arms; but to extirpate ſuch as might be uſeful to maintain the Conquerors, is ſuch a Piece of Self denying Cruelty, as never enter'd into the Hearts of any that had Power and Wiſdom enough to Conquer a Nation. It is certain, and muſt be allowed, that the long Wars between the *Britains* and *Saxons*, the vaſt Difference between the *Chriſtian* Religion and *Pagan*, muſt cauſe very great Deſolations; but then the ſucceeding Hiſtory gives us an Account of all the Countries peopled, without any Complaint for Want of Inhabitants, that we cannot imagine all the Old *Romans* and *Britains* either crouded into *Wales*, or fled over into *Armorica*.

In the next Place let us ſee what particular Countries the *Jutes*, *Saxons* and *Angles* poſſeſſed here in *Britain*: Archbiſhop *Uſher* has laid them down very exactly in a Table, which he himſelf review'd and corrected; they are to be found in the following Order.

I. ‘ * The *Jutes* poſſeſſed *Kent*, the Iſle of ‘*Wight*, and that Part of *Hamſheir* which lyes ‘ over-againſt it, where *Homelen*, or the River ‘*Humble* runs into the Ocean. Though this ‘ſhould belong, to the Province of the Weſt ‘*Saxons*, yet from its firſt Original, in the ‘ Times of the *Engliſh Saxons*, it hath re‘tain'd the Appellation of the Nation of the ‘*Jutes*

* Uſh. *Prim. Eccles. Brit.* p. 394.

II. ‘ The *Saxons* are divided into, 1. ‘South *Saxons*. 2. Eaſt *Saxons*, 3. Weſt ‘*Saxons*.

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1. 'The South *Saxons* poſſeſſed *Suſſex*.

2. 'The Eaſt *Saxons* had *Eſſex*, *Middle-ſex*, and the Southern Part of *Hertford-ſhire*.

3. 'The Weſt *Saxons*, who anciently were 'called the *Geviſſi*, inhabited the Counties of '*Surrey*, *Southampton*, (except the Maritime 'Part, which was poſſeſſed by the *Jutes*) *Berks*, '*Wilton*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Devon* and *Corn-wal*, though the greateſt Part of this has been 'held by the Relicts of the Old *Britains* even to 'our Days.

III. The *Angles* are divided into Eaſt *Angles*, 'Middle *Angles* and *Northumbrians*.

1. The Eaſt *Angles* held *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, 'and *Cambridgeſhire*, with the *Iſle of Ely*, 'and alſo (as it ſeems) Part of *Bedford-ſhire*.

2. The Mediterranean, or Middle *Angles*, 'inhabited the Province of *Leiceſter*, which 'was ſubject to the Government of the *Mer-cians*.

'The *Mercians* are divided by the River 'Trent into *Southern* and *Northern*.

1. 'The Southern *Mercians* are thoſe who 'live in *Lincolnſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, and '(which was formerly a Part of it) *Rutland-ſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, the Northern Part of '*Bedfordſhire* and *Hartfordſhire*, *Buckingham-ſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Gloceſterſhire*, *Warwick-ſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Stafford-ſhire* and *Shropſhire*.

2. 'The Northern *Mercians* inhabited *Che-ſhire*, *Derbyſhire* and *Nottinghamſhire*.

3. '* The *Northumbrian Angles*, who live 'North of the River *Humber*, are diſtinguiſhed 'into thoſe.

1. 'Of

* *Uſh. Prim. Ecc. Brit. Pag.* 1003.

1. 'Of *Deira*, which contains *Lancaſhire*, *Yorkſhire*, *Weſtmorland*, and the Southern 'Part of *Cumberland* on this Side the River *Der-* 'went.

2. 'Of *Bernicia*, who inhabited the North 'Part of *Cumberland*, with ſome Part of *Weſt-* 'morland, which lay next to it; the Biſhop- 'rick of *Durham*, *Northumberland*, and the 'Southern Part of *Scotland*, which on the Eaſt 'is bounded by the *German* Ocean, on the 'Weſt by the *Iriſh* Sea; its Southern Limits 'are *Solway* Bay, and the River *Tweed*; it 'reaches North to the *Friths* of *Dunbritton* and '*Edenburgh*. Thus was the *Northumbrian* 'Kingdom extended *ad duo iſta freta*, to thoſe 'Two *Friths*, by One of them [that of *Dun-* 'britton] it was ſeparated from the *Scots*, 'by the other [that of *Edenburgh*] from the 'Picts, as we underſtand by the moſt cer- 'tain Teſtimonies of *Bede* and other Hiſto- 'rians.

There are ſome Quibbles upon the Names of thoſe People who inhabited *Northumberland*, which are not worth relating, but only as they were ſpoken by ſo Great a Man as the Pope, and recorded by ſuch a Venerable Author as *Bede*.

'* We muſt not paſs over in Silence the 'Tradition we have received, how the Bleſſed '*Gregory* came to be ſo much concern'd for 'this Nation. It is reported, that the Merchants 'bringing their Goods to the Market, many 'came thither to Buy, and among the reſt *Gre-* '*gory*: He there ſaw ſome Boys expos'd to 'Sale, who had very Fair Bodies, Beautiful 'Countenances, and very Fine Heads of Hair: 'He look'd upon them, and askt what Country

* *Bed. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 1.

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'they were brought from? 'Twas anſwer'd 'from the Iſland of *Britain*, whoſe Inhabitants 'were all of the ſame Comlineſs. He 'askt again, whether thoſe Iſlanders were 'Chriſtians, or ſtill continu'd entangled in 'their Heatheniſh Errors? 'Twas ſaid, they 'were Pagans. He fetcht a deep Sigh from the 'Bottom of his Heart, and ſaid, The more's 'the Pity that the Prince of Darkneſs ſhould 'keep Men of Bright Complections in his Poſ-'ſeſſion, that ſuch outward Grace in the Coun-'tenance ſhould be deſtitute of the inward Grace 'of the Mind.

'He askt again, what was the Name of their 'Nation? 'Twas anſwer'd, That they were 'called *Angli*. Not improperly, he replied, 'for they have *Angels* Faces, and ought to be 'Coheirs with the *Angels* in Heaven. Well, '(ſays he) and what is the Name of the Pro-'vince from whence they are brought? He 'was then made to know that they come from 'the Province *Deira*. That's very well (he 'replied) they are deliver'd from Wrath, and 'called to the Mercy of Chriſt. But what's the 'Name of the King of that Province? He was 'told *Ella*; then alluding to his Name, It is 'very fit that *Alleluja* ſhould be ſung in thoſe 'Parts to the Praiſe of God the Creator. This 'may be a Specimen, at how low an ebb Senſe 'and Learning then were, though devout Af-'fections run very high.

Before the *Engliſh Saxons* could plant themſelves in this Iſland, they had a long Conteſt, and fought may Battles with the *Britains*, and the Reliſts of the *Romans*. King *Vortigern* indeed call'd them in, hoping that now the Power of *Rome* could no longer protect him. He might

might by an Alliance with the *Saxons*, who were the moſt Potent of all his Neighbours, be upheld in his Government: Their Aſſiſtance was moſt deſirable, not only to ſave him from the Devaſtations of the *Picts* and *Scots* from the *North*, but from the Dominion of thoſe remaining *Romans*, who had often ſet up to be Abſolute Maſters of the Iſland. The *Britiſh* Princes could not but ſubmit to the Empire of *Rome*, which commanded the beſt Part of the World; but they had no Mind to be Homagers to their Fellow ſubjects, who were now left in a very weak Condition. Chap. V.

To underſtand this 'tis neceſſary we ſhould take a Review of *Britain*, what was the Poſture of Affairs whilſt it continued in Subjection to the *Roman* Empire. When *Julius Cæſar* landed, all the *Britiſh* Princes made Head againſt him under *Caſſibelan*; but when the *Romans* prevail'd, they were glad to obey and flatter their new Maſters. We have ſeen how *Praſutagus* King of the *Iceni*, made *Nero* Coheir with his Two Daughters, and ſought to oblige the Sovereign of the Empire to the Preſervation of his Family. The *Romans* alſo found their Account in maintaining ſuch Vaſſal Kings; they would allow them to have Subjects, if they and their Subjects would but pay Tribute to them as their Supreme Lords: A Province was more eaſily managed, if they could but draw in the Princes and Natives of it to a Voluntary Obedience. Thus the *Romans* had their *Antiochus* in *Aſia*, *Herod* and his Children in *Judæa*, *Dejotarus* in *Galatia*, and *Ariobazanes* in *Cappadocia*: And that we may not go here meerly by Conjecture, *Tacitus* gives a particular Inſtance in *Britain*, where we find *Cogidunus* King of ſeveral Cities, by the

Chap. V. Grant of the *Romans.* ‘ *Some Cities were
‘ given to King *Cogidunus*, who continued moſt
* *Tacit. Vit Agr. cap.* 14. ‘ faithful even to the Time of our Remem-
‘ brance, it being an Ancient and Receiv'd Cu-
‘ ſtom of the *Roman* People to have even Kings
‘ for the Inſtruments of Servitude.

We have alſo an Account of another King and his Converſion given us by Biſhop *Stillingfleet.* ‘ Suppoſing that King *Lucius* ſucceeded ‘ *Cogidunus*, though not immediately, in the ‘ Government of that Part of *Britain* committed ‘ to his Care, I ſee no Inconvenience in allowing, ‘ that King *Lucius* hearing of the Chriſtian ‘ Doctrine, either by the Old *Britiſh* Chriſtians, ‘ ſuch as *Elvanus* and *Medwinus* are ſuppos'd to ‘ have been; or by ſome of *Marcus Aurelius's* ‘ Soldiers coming hither, *after the great Deli-* ‘ *verance of the* Roman *Army by the Prayers of* ‘ *the Chriſtians* (which had then lately happen'd, ‘ and occaſioned great Diſcourſe everywhere, ‘ the Emperor himſelf (as *Tertullian* ſays) giving ‘ the account of it in his own Letters) might upon ‘ this be very deſirous to inform himſelf through- ‘ ly about this Religion; and there being then ‘ frequent intercourſe between *Rome* and *Britain*, ‘ by reaſon of the Colonies that were ſettled, ‘ the Governours and Soldiers paſſing to and fro, ‘ he might ſend *Elvanus* and *Medwinus* to
An. 187. ‘ *Eleutherius* [Biſhop of *Rome*] to be fully in- ‘ ſtructed in this Religion. And either the ſame ‘ Perſons alone, or Two others with them, ‘ (called *Faganus* and *Duvianus* commonly) ‘ coming into *Britain*, might have ſo great ‘ Succeſs, as to Baptize King *Lucius*, and many ‘ others, and thereby enlarge the Chriſtian Church ‘ here.

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Hiſtory does not afford any continued Succeſſion of theſe *Britiſh* Kings; after *Lucius* we meet only with the Mention of *Coilus*, Father of *Helana*, who was the Mother of *Conſtantine the Great*. But at this great Revolution, wherein the *Saxons* overturn'd the whole Nation, there was an Occaſion to ſpeak of *Vortigern*, which could not be paſs'd over, becauſe all our Authors agree he call'd in thoſe People to preſerve his Kingdom, who at laſt deſtroy'd it. His Deſign took well enough at firſt, for driving back the *Picts* and *Scots*, but then theſe new Comers made Peace with them, that they might purſue a better Game, as *Bede* relates it.

'* All of a ſudden [the *Saxons*] made a 'Truce with the *Picts*, whom by the War they 'had driven a great way off; and they turn'd 'their Arms againſt their Allies [the *Britains*] 'firſt they compel them to bring in a greater 'Quantity of Annual Proviſions; and then ſtill 'continuing to ſeek an Occaſion for a Quarrel, 'they proteſt if they were not better ſupplied 'they would break the Alliance, and make 'all Places of the Iſland deſolate. Nor was it 'long before their Threats were put in Execu'tion; for to be ſhort, there was a Fire kindled 'by the Hands of the Pagans, which brought 'Vengeance upon the Wickedneſs of the Peo'ple of God: Not unlike that which the *Caldeeans* made, which conſum'd the Walls and 'Buildings of *Jeruſalem*.

* *Bed. lib.* 1. *cap.* 16.

'Thus the Impious Victor and the Juſt 'Judge proceeded, deſtroying all the Neighbour'ing Cities and Countries. None could ſtop 'them from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern Sea; a 'continued Flame cover'd the whole Face of the 'Iſland with Aſhes: Publick and Private Build-

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'ings lay together in their Ruins. The Prieſts 'were ſlain up and down at the very Altars; 'the Biſhops and People, without any Reſpect 'to their Honour, were deſtroy'd either by Fire 'or Sword: Nor was there any to bury them 'after they had been ſo cruelly ſlain. Some of 'the miſerable Relicks fled to the Mountains, 'and were cruelly butcher'd there in Heaps: 'Others, ready to ſtarve with Hunger, came 'and offer'd themſelves to their Enemies, that 'they might be perpetual Slaves, if their Lives 'were ſpar'd. Some in Grief fled beyond the 'Seas; others ſtaying in their own Country, 'wore out a Miſerable Life in the Mountains, 'and Woods, and ſteep Rocks, where they 'ſpent their Days in a continual Diſ-'quiet.

This indeed is a moſt Tragical Relation as was ever read; and if it be taken for more than a piece of Oratory, much exceeds the Vengeance which fell upon the *Jews*, either by the *Aſſyrians* or *Romans*. Though *Jeruſalem* was burnt, yet many Thouſands of the People were ſpared; there was never any Conqueſt made at this Rate, where a Country, which invited Foreigners over for its Goodneſs, ſhould by them be made ſo utterly deſolate and uninhabitable. There might be much of this true in the Heat of War, but butchering People that made no Reſiſtance is neither agreeable to Policy nor Humane Nature.

However, this has been taken ſo litterally, that many from hence reckon all the *Britains* and *Romans* utterly extirpated, and that *England* is now entirely planted with *Saxons*, *Jutes*, and *Angles*; but that ever the little corner of a *Cherſoneſe* ſhould be able to plant ſo great a Nation

tion as this, is as incredible, as that the former should be deſtroy'd according to thoſe extravagant Flights of Oratory, which we have read. Chap. V.

The truth is, the *Saxons* were pleaſed to wrap up the Hiſtory of this Conqueſt in Clouds; they would not relate the Valour of the *Britains* and their Glorious Generals, leſt they ſhould excite them to make new Attempts: And therefore their Annals do not ſo much as once mention the Names of *Vortimer*, *Ambroſius Aurelianus*, *Uther Pendragon*, and the great Prince *Arthur*. Once indeed *Bede* mentions *Ambroſius*, and cannot but confeſs that Forty-four Years the War was carried on with various Succeſs, however he will not let us know any of the Particulars. This is his Account.

'* The *Britains* had for their General *Ambro-* * *Bed. lib.* 1. 16.
'*ſius Aurelianus*, and provoking the Victors,
'had themſelves, by the Favour of God, the
'Victory. After that, ſometimes the Inhabitants
'of *Britain*, ſometimes their Enemies, overcame,
'till the Siege of Mount *Badon*, where they
'made no ſmall Slaughter of their Enemies
'[the *Saxons*]. This Battle was fought the
'Forty-fourth Year after their coming into *Bri-*
'*tain.*

All our *Britiſh* Hiſtorians make King *Arthur* the General of their Army at that time, and ſpeak as extravagantly of his Actions as *Bede* does ſparingly. It being therefore very hard to collect any certain Account out of Original Authors, we muſt take ſuch as thoſe of the greateſt Learning and Judgment ſeem to acquieſce in: Which ſhall be inſerted without giving the different Opinions, that the

Chap. IV. the Thread of the History may not be broken.

* *Stillingfl. Antiq. chap. 5. Pag. 320.* ‘ * After *Hengist* and his Company had tasted ‘ the Sweetness of *Britain*, they never left ‘ wheedling that Weak and Vicious King ‘ [*Vortigern*,] as all describe him, with Fair Pro- Usher ibid. ‘ mises, and Necessity of more Succours to se- ‘ cure himself, and defend his Country, till by ‘ degrees they had got over Strength enough ‘ to bid Defiance to the *Britains*. At first they ‘ seem'd very hearty and zealous against their ‘ Common Enemies, and did great Service in ‘ beating the *Picts* and *Scots*; insomuch that ‘ *Buchanan* confesses they were driven beyond ‘ *Adrians* Wall.

* *Pag. 321* ‘ * And it is easie to imagine how insolent such ‘ a Barbarous People would grow upon their ‘ Success, when they knew the *Britains* durst ‘ not oppose them. *Bede* says that they entered ‘ into a Secret League with the *Picts* and *Scots* ‘ after they had beaten them, and then took ‘ Occasion to quarrel with the *Britains*; only ‘ they still endeavour'd to keep *Vortigern* firm ‘ to them. To this Purpose *Nennius* tells the ‘ Story of *Hengist*'s Fair Daughter *Rovena*, and ‘ how *Vortigern* was ensnared by her, to the ‘ great Dissatisfaction of the *Britains*. *Hector* ‘ *Boethius* saith, that *Vodinus*, Bishop of *London*, ‘ was killed by *Hengist* for reproving *Vortigern* ‘ for this Marriage. But we must not be too ‘ strict upon *Hector* to put him to produce ‘ his Vouchers. And the *British* History adds, ‘ that *Hengist* being a subtil Man, insinuated ‘ still into *Vortigern*, *That his own People did* ‘ *not love him, and that they would depose him,* ‘ *and set up* Aurelius Ambrosius: And by such ‘ Arts they widen'd the Distance between him ‘ and

'and his People, when they designed no- Chap. V.
'thing less than the Destruction of them
'both.

'*Nennius* saith, that when *Vortigern*'s Wicked-
'ness grew so great, as to Marry his own Daugh-
'ter, he was condemn'd in Solemn Council of
'the *British* Nation, both Clergy and Laity,
'and upon the Advice of his Nobles he with-
'drew himself to a private Castle. * He speaks † Page 322.
'also of *Vortimer*'s [the Son of *Vortigern*]
'Fighting with *Hengist* and *Horsa*, and adds
'his Success to have been so great, as to have
'driven [the *Saxons*] into the Isle of *Thanet*,
'and that there he Besieged, and Beat, and
'Terrified them to that degree, that they sent
'into *Germany* for new Succours, by which
'they were enabled to manage the War
'with various Success against the *Bri-*
'*tain.s*

'* *Mathew* of *Westminster* gives this account Pa. 123.
'of these Proceedings: That the *British* No-
'bility forsaking *Vortigern*, set up *Vortimer*, who
'with their Assistance pursued the *Saxons* to
'*Derwent* in *Kent*, which according to Mr. *Cam-*
'*den* is *Dartford*, and there killed many of them.
'He makes *Vortigern* to have fled away with
'the *Saxon* Army, and to have given them all
'the Assistance he could: And then, saith he,
'*Vortimer* began to restore the *Britains* Posses-
'sions to them, and to rebuild their Churches,
'and to shew Kindness to their Church-
'men.

'*William* of *Malmsbury* saith, that the *Bri-*
'*tain* and *Saxons* agreed for Seven Years,
'after their landing; and then *Vortimer* finding
'their Deceit, incens'd his Father and the *Britains*
'against them, and so for Twenty Years there
'was

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'was continual War and light Skirmiſhes, and 'Four pitch'd Battels. In the Firſt he makes 'their Fortune equal, *Horſa* being kill'd on the 'One Side, and *Catigis* [a Son of *Vortigern's*] 'on the other; in the reſt, the *Saxons* being al- 'ways Superiour, and *Vortimer* dead, a Peace 'was made; and ſo the *Britains* Affairs went 'ill, till *Ambroſius* recover'd them.

* Stillingfl. Antiq. Pag. 326.

'* As to the particular Conduct of the *Britiſh* 'Affairs under *Ambroſius*, we have little more 'Light than what Traditions and Conjectures 'give us: However, it may not be amiſs to lay 'together what we can find about them. *Nen-* 'nius ſays little more of him, than that *Vorti-* † Pag. 328. 'gern was afraid of him. † After his Victory 'over the *Saxons*, *Aurelius Ambroſius* called the 'Princes and Great Men together at *York*, and 'gave order for Repairing the Churches which 'the *Saxons* had deſtroy'd. As to this there is 'great Probability; for after the Battel at *Wip-* 'pedsfleet, which was Seventeen Years after the 'Saxons coming, *H. Huntingdon* ſaith Things 'remain'd quiet for a good while between the 'Britains and *Saxons*; and in that Time it is 'reaſonable to preſume, That *Ambroſius*, and the 'Nobles and People, did their Endeavours to- 'wards the Recovering the Honour of their 'Churches, as well as of the Kingdom. And 'after the Care he took in other Places, ſaith 'Geffrey, he march'd to *London*, which had 'ſuffer'd as well as other Cities; and having 'call'd the diſpers'd Citizens together, he went 'about the Repairing of it; all his Deſign 'being the Reſtoring the Church and King- 'dom. From thence he went to *Wincheſter* and 'Salisbury.

'And

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'* And in the Paſſage thither *Geffry* launches out to purpoſe in his Hiſtory of *Stone-henge*, tranſlated, ſaith he, by *Merlin* out of *Ireland*, to make a Monument for the *Britiſh* Nobles, ſlain there by *Hengiſt*'s Treachery: Which is ſuch an Extravagancy, that it is to be wonder'd any ſhould follow him in it, and yet *Matthew Weſtminſter* tranſcribes the Main of it; and *Walter Coventry* ſets it down for Authentick Hiſtory; but he adds Two Circumſtances, which make it ſeem probable, that *Stone-henge* had ſome Relation to *Ambroſius*: *viz.* That here *Ambroſius* was crown'd, and was not long after buried. And the Name of *Ambroſ-burg* near it, doth much confirm the Probability, that it had rather a reſpect to *Ambroſius*, than either to to the *Romans* or the *Danes*. * Pag. 329.

'† After *Ambroſius*'s Death, according to the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, his Brother *Uther Pendragon* ſucceeded; who routed the *Saxons* in the North, relieved *York* beſieged by them, took the Sons of *Hengiſt* Priſoners, marched to *London*, and there call'd a Parliament, and was ſolemnly crown'd, and fell out with *Goalois* Duke of *Cornwal*, about his Wife *Igerna*, and under his Shape had King *Arthur* by her; but her Huſband was kill'd at the Siege of the *Caſtle*. After which, 'tis ſaid that he overcame the *Saxons* at *Verulam*; where he was after poiſon'd by their Means, and his Son *Arthur* ſucceeded. This is the Sum of what is there more at large related; but taking it all together, it is a very blind and partial Account of the Proceedings between the *Britains* and *Saxons* of that Time. † *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter*, *Anno Dom.* 494, takes notice of *Cerdick* and *Kenrick* his Son landing with new Forces, at a Place † Pag. 332. † Page 332.

'call'd

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'called from him *Cerdick shore*. Seven Years 'after him came *Port*, and his two Sons *Bleda* 'and *Magla*, and arriv'd at *Portsmouth*, which 'had its Name from him. Now how comes *Geffry* to think of none of these, but only of *Hengist*'s two Sons in the *North*? Besides, he lets slip one of the greatest Battels 'that was fought between *Cerdick* and *Nathanleod*, and pretends to give no Account of it. 'Archbishop *Usher* thinks this King was the same whom the *British* History calls *Uther*, 'and that *Nathanleod*, or *Nazaleod*, was his true Name, and *Uther* was a Nickname to denote his Fierceness, as the *Annotator* upon *Nennius* calls *Arthur Mab Uther* in the *British* Tongue for the same Reason: And so *Arthurus* in *Latin* from the *British Arth*, which signifies a Bear.

Pag. 334. '* But what then is to be said to King *Arthur*, who was Son to *Uther*, and succeeded 'him, whose mighty Feats are so amply related 'by the *British* History? I think both Sides are 'to blame about him, I mean those who tell 'incredible Tales of him, such as are utterly 'inconsistent with the *British* Affairs at that 'Time, and those who deny there was any such 'Person, or of any considerable Power among 'the *Britains*.

† Stillingfl. Antiq. P. 340. '† But after all, *Leland* has sufficiently prov'd 'that there was such a Person as King *Arthur*, 'from the *Cair Arture* in *Wales*, two Mountains 'so called; and *Arthur*'s Gate in *Montgomery*, 'and the abundant Testimony he brings about 'his Coffin in Lead found in *Glassenbury*, either 'in *Henry* the *Second*'s Time, or at least in the 'Beginning of *Richard* the *First*, with an Inscription set down often by him, and more exactly

'ly by *Camden*; where the Letters appear very 'rude, and the Inſcription very plain, and there-'fore more likley to be true. Chap. V.

Hic jacet ſepultus inclytus Rex Arturius *in Inſula* Avalonia.

Here lies buried the Famous King *Arthur* in the Iſland *Avalonia.*

'Where are all the Noble Titles given him 'in the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, and contained in the 'Inſcription about his Seal?

Patricius Arturius, Britanniæ, Galliæ, Germaniæ, Daciæ, Imperator.

Arthur the Patrician, Emperor of *Britain, Gaul, Germany, Dacia.*

'So much a greater Man was *Arthur* living, 'when he uſed this Seal, than dead, when ſo 'mean an Inſcription was put upon the lower 'part of his Coffin: How ſoon were all his 'great Titles forgotten!

'But ſince *Leland*, Sir *John Price* has under-'taken to vindicate the Story of King *Arthur*: 'And the firſt Argument he uſes, is from the 'Inſcription on his Coffin, and the Antiquity of 'the Letters; but the Modeſty of the Inſcription 'is a better Argument to me; for if the Monks 'deſign'd a Cheat in *Henry* II. his Time, and 'laid this Coffin there on purpoſe to deceive, 'they might counterfeit ſuch Letters, but they 'could never have held from ſpeaking more 'glorious Things of ſo great a Heroe.

After

Chap. V. After the Relation of the great Fight at Mount *Badon*, *Bede* inserts some Church Affairs, and then proceeds in this manner.

* Bed. lib. I. *cap.* 22.

'* *Britain* had rest a while from War with 'Foreigners, but the Inhabitants were at War 'among themselves; their Cities were Heaps 'of Rubbish and desolate, yet those that escap'd 'their Enemies could not forbear fighting with 'one another: Though still their Kings and 'Priests, their Nobles and Private Men, retain-'ing some Remembrance of their late Ca-'lamities, kept their Rank and Order: But they 'being gone, and a Generation succeeding, 'which was insensible of the former Tempest, 'and taken up only with the Serenity of their 'present Enjoyments, the whole Government of 'Truth and Justice was shaken and overthrown; 'there were no Footsteps of them left, not so 'much as the Remembrance of them, except in 'a few, and those very few.

'But among other Things unspeakably wick-'ed, which their Historian *Gildas* describes in a 'mournful Discourse, he adds this, That they 'would not by their Preaching communicate the 'Word of Faith to the *Saxon* or *English* Nation, 'which with them inhabited *Britain:* Yet the 'Divine Clemency did not neglect a People fore-'known to God, but appointed more worthy 'Heraulds of the Truth, by whom this Nation 'might believe.

† Antiq. Brit. Ch. *P.* 330.

* Bishop *Stillingfleet* thus takes notice of these Civil Wars:

'It is observed by *H.* of *Huntingdon*, That 'after the *Britains* had a little Respite from 'their Enemies, they fell into Civil Dissentions 'among themselves, which is very agreeable to 'what *Gildas* had said. Of this the *British*

'Hi-

'History gives us no improbable Account, when Chap. V.
'it relates that one of *Vortigern*'s Sons, call'd
'*Pascentius*, rais'd a Rebellion in the *North* a-
'gainst *Ambrosius* among the *Britains*, who
'were overcome by him, and put to flight, but
'afterwards he hired a *Saxon* to poison *Ambro-*
'*sius* at *Winchester*. This, saith *Matthew*, hap-
'pen'd *Anno Dom.* 497.

It is certain that there were such Civil Wars among the Inhabitants of *Britain*, at the Time the *Saxons* were conquering them, and that the Cause of them was a divided Interest between the *Britains* and *Romans*. Of this *Vortigern* was jealous from the Beginning; and when his Brave Son *Vortimer* was dead, then the *Roman* Interest seems to prevail under *Ambrosius*, whom the Son of *Vortigern* destroy'd: So dismal is the Fury of Domestick Dissentions, even under the Scourge of Foreign Foes. And hence 'tis plain, That the *Saxons* did not conquer *Britain* by pure Valour, but by that Weakness into which their own Divisions had brought them: Their Wickedness had indeed drawn down the Judgments of God upon them, but then their Divisions, which destroy'd all Government, was the great Cause of their Wickedness.

The Historians on both Sides give such partial Accounts, that there is no coming at the Particulars of this Revolution. There were certainly great and glorious Generals among the *Britains*, who fought often with great Success; but then Authors tell so much more than can possibly be true, that they leave all doubtful: For had *Ambrose* and *Arthur* been always Conquerors, the *Saxons* could not in their Times have began and settled some of their Kingdoms. On the other Side, had all the Inhabitants of *Britain*

Chap. V. been such miserable fugitive Wretches, as the Lamentations of *Gildas*, and the Exaggerations of *Bede* would make them, it could not have been a Work of above an Hundred Years to plant the Seven Kingdoms: The Rise of which shall be now given according to the *Saxon* Annals, where they make mention thereof; their *Geography* is before set forth by Archbishop *Usher*.

I. *Ann. Dom.* 457. The Kingdom of *Kent* was possess'd by *Hengist*, as is related by the *Saxon* Annals in these Words:

'This Year *Hengist* and *Esca* fought against 'the *Britains*, in a Place which is called *Crec-* 'canford, where they slew Four great Captains, 'from thence the *Britains* forsook *Kent*, and in 'great Consternation fled to *London*.

II. *Ann. Dom.* 490. *Ella* is said to have Dominion over *Sussex*, from that which is recorded under this Year, 'That *Ella* and *Cissa* be- 'sieged *Andredes ceaster*, and slew all that dwelt 'in it, insomuch that not one *Britan* was left 'remaining there.

III. *Ann. Dom.* 519. 'This Year *Cerdick* and 'Cynrick took Possession of the Kingdom of the '*West Saxons*, and this same Year they fought 'against the *Britains* in a Place that to this Day 'is commonly call'd *Cerdisford*, from which the 'Royal Race of the *West Saxons* has reign'd.

IV. *Ann. Dom.* 527. The Kingdom of the *East Saxons* is said to be begun by *Erkenwin*. No Mention is made of it in the *Saxon* Annals, but this Year is assign'd for it by *H. Huntingdon*.

V.

V. *An. Dom.* 547. *Ida* took upon him the Kingdom, from whom the Royal Family of the *Northumbrians* arose: He reigned twelve Years, and built *Bebbanburn*; which at first was fortified only by an ordinary Rampart, but afterwards with a Wall.

VI. *Ann. Dom.* 575. *Uffa*, King of the *East Angles*, is commonly suppos'd to begin his Reign; though it be not particularly mention'd in the Annals, nor in any other good Author.

VII. *Ann. Dom.* 585. *Crida*, King of *Mercia*, is said, both by *H. Huntingdon* and *M. Westminster*, to begin his Kingdom though the Annals make no mention of it.

Among these Kings and their Successors, there were some so eminent, that they were reputed Monarchs over the rest; who are upon the mention of *Egbert*, the first King of all *England* that left it as an Inheritance to his Successors, thus set down in the *Saxon* Annals.

'*Ann. Dom.* 827. This Year King *Egbert* subdued the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and all that lies from the South Side of *Humber*; he was the Eighth King that commanded all *Britain*. The First who had so great a Dominion, was *Ella* King of the *South Saxons*. The Second was *Ceaulin*, King of the *West Saxons*. The Third was *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*. The Fourth *Redwald*, King of the *East Angles*. The Fifth *Edwin*, King of *Nothumberland*. The Sixth was his Successor, King *Oswald*. The Seventh was *Oswy*, the Brother of *Oswald*. The Eighth was *Egbert*, King of the *West Saxons*.

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This great Revolution by which the seven Kingdoms were united into one Monarchy, that has continued to this Day, deserves more particularly to be consider'd, that we may be better acquainted with the Great Founder of it. * Egbert *was the Son of* Ealmund, *King of* Kent; his Father could not leave him the Inheritance of that Kingdom, but *Egbert* left the Inheritance of *England* to his Son *Ethelwulph*. *Kent* was at this Time subject to many Changes, the Royal Family of *Hengist* was extinct, and the Potent Kings of *Mercia* set up and pull'd down whom they pleased. *Egbert* therefore fled, and resided with King *Brithtrick*, a Relation of his in the Court of *West Saxony*. The *Mercians* still domineer'd in *Kent*, insomuch that *Kenulph* King of *Mercia* wasted all their Country, and took *Ethelbert Pren*, who was set up to be King there; he brought him Home with him bound in Chains, commanded his Eyes to be put out, and his Hands cut off.

* Sax. Annal. ad An. 784.

Ad An. 796.

Egbert being descended from *Ina*, the Great King of the *West Saxons*, and discovering a Genius full of all Princely Virtues, fell under the Jealousie of *Brithtrick* and his Queen *Edburga*, so that he could no longer stay with Safety in the Place of his first Refuge: He therefore flies again, and puts himself under the Protection of *Charles* the *Great*, who was then setting up the Empire of the *West*; † where he fell into the highest Improvements, and had the greatest Opportunities that the World afforded, for Understanding all the Arts of Peace and War. Such an Education does Providence usually take Care of for those who are design'd to the highest Atchievments.

† Hen. Hunt. *lib.* 3.

That

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That we may ſee the Character of *Brithtrick* and his Queen, from whoſe Court *Egbert* fled, and how he came to make Room for that glorious Succeſſor to mount the Throne, we may take this Account from † *Simeon* of *Durham*.

† De Geſtis Reg. Ang. *Pag.* 118.

'*Ann. Dom.* 802. *Brithtrik* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, who had moſt nobly Reign'd over that People for Seventeen Years, died; whoſe Empire and Kingdom after him, *Egbert* of the Royal Race of that Nation took Poſſeſſion of. King *Brithtrick* was married to *Elburga*, Daughter to *Offa* King of *Mercia*, who drew that great Ditch between *Britain* and *Mercia* from Sea to Sea. She being the Daughter of a Mighty Prince, was very Enterprizing and Ambitious, would live tyrannically in her Father's Way, and deteſted every Body that was not agreeable to her Humour; inſomuch that ſhe was hated both by thoſe of Quality, and the common People. Eſpecially ſhe perſecuted the moſt Religious, ſhe accuſed them to the King, and by her Flatteries often prevail'd upon him, either to take away their Lives, or baniſh them the Kingdom. But if at any Time ſhe could not obtain her Deſign, ſhe would then privately make them away by Poiſon. Among the reſt there was one young Nobleman, very Dear to the King, whom ſhe accus'd, but could not prevail againſt; ſo ſhe went to her old Art, and preparing a Cup of of Poiſon, the King unwittingly drank of it, as well as he for whom it was deſign'd, and both of them periſh'd by the deadly Liquor. Thus the King being dead, ſhe durſt no longer ſtay in a Country where ſhe might juſtly expect the greateſt Reſentments, and with ineſti-

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'mable Treaſures fled over Sea to *Charles* the 'moſt famous King of the *Franks*. As ſhe was 'once walking with him upon the Leads, and 'preſenting ſome of her Jewels to him, he ſaid, '*Chuſe* Elburga, *whether you will marry me, or 'my Son here by me.* She gave an inconſiderate 'Anſwer, *If I might have my Wiſh, I would chuſe 'the Youngeſt.* King *Charles* reply'd, *If you 'had choſe me you ſhould have had my Son, but 'now you ſhall have neither:* Yet for her Pleaſantneſs he beſtow'd one of the beſt Monaſteries upon her, where laying aſide her Secular Habit, ſhe ſpent a few Years in a moſt hypocritical Diſguiſe; for as ſhe led a curſed Life at Home, it was much worſe in a Foreign Country.

* Sax. Ann.

'*Ann. Dom.* 804. This Year King *Brithtrick* 'and the Prefect *Worrus* deceas'd, and *Egbert* 'took upon him the *Weſt Saxon* Kingdom. As to the Monarchy he was afterwards poſſeſs'd of, it does not appear that he was covetous of his Neighbour's Dominions, but was Firſt ſet upon by others, and by moſt of them call'd in as a Deliverer from thoſe Miſeries and Oppreſſions under which they lay.

'*Ann. Dom.* 823. This Year was a Fight be'tween the *Devonſhire* Men and the *Britains* at '*Gafulford*, [*Camelford* in *Cornwal*] and this 'ſame Year *Egbert*, King of the *Weſt Saxons*, 'and *Bernwulph* King of *Mercia*, fought in *El'lendune*, [ſuppos'd to be *Wilton*] where after 'a very great ſlaughter *Egbert* had the Victory; though the Place is expreſly call'd by † *Radulphus de Diceto Hyllendune* in *Middleſex*. That the King of *Mercia* ſhould ſet upon *Egbert* at the ſame Time the *Britains* (who were common Enemies to them both) aſſaulted him, is a certain Proof

† Abbrev. Chron. *Pag.* 449.

Proof that it was *Bernwulph*'s Deſign to be Maſter of *Weſt Saxony*, as he already was of ſome other Kingdoms. Chap. V

We have ſeen before how the *Mercians* had harraſs'd *Kent*, and now *Egbert* thought it a fit Opportunity to recover that Country which was once in his Father's Poſſeſſion: The Bloody Battel at *Ellendune* had ſo weakned the *Mercian* King, that he was not like to ſpare Forces enough to defend his Uſurpation. *Egbert* did not think fit to go himſelf into *Kent*, whilſt his Enemy ſtaid at Home and might Aſſault his Kingdom in his Abſence, but ſent his Son *Ethelwuph* with a good Counſellor, and good General, who advanc'd his Affairs much beyond his Firſt Expectations.

'**Ann. Dom.* 823. Then he ſent his Son *Ethel-* * Sax. Ann.
'*wulph* from the Army with Biſhop *Ealſtan* and
'the Prefect *Wulfherd* to *Kent* with very great
'Forces: And they drove King *Balred* to the Nor-
'thern Parts beyond the *Thames*. The *Kentiſh*
'Men came in to him, as did thoſe of *Surry*, and
'alſo both the *South* and *Eaſt Saxons*. This *Balred* was a late Upſtart, call'd by the Hiſtorians an Abortive King, that had ſcarce ſeen the Light of Royal Dignity, and therefore there was no Intereſt in *Kent* which would oppoſe it ſelf againſt the Conqueror. It was much more conſiderable that the Kingdom of the *Eaſt Saxons* came in, whereby the City of *London* was gain'd, which has been of ſuch Importnace in all Times, that it muſt needs add a great Strength and Eſtabliſhment to the Conqueſt.

But this Kingdom lying ſo much in the Way between *Mercia* and *Kent*, was in a great Meaſure brought under the *Mercians* before, was always harraſs'd with the Marching of their

Chap. V. Troops backwards and forwards, and now very glad to imbrace a Potent Prince for their Sovereign, under whoſe Protection they were like to enjoy Peace and Quietneſs. So that we already find Four of the Seven Kingdoms under the Poſſeſſion of *Egbert*, *viz.* his own *Weſt Saxony*, the *South Saxons*, *Kent*, and the *Eaſt Saxons*; theſe laſt ſeem truly to belong to him without a Conqueſt, for it is ſaid by the † *Saxon* Annals, that formerly they had been unjuſtly extorted from his own Relations. '*Orientales Saxones ab ejus* '*propinquis injuſte extorti fuerant.*

† Ad. Ann. 823.

* Sax. Ann. '* *Ann. Dom.* 823. This Year alſo the King 'of the *Eaſt Angles* and that Nation entreated 'King *Egbert* that he would bring Peace to 'them, and be their Protector, becauſe they were 'in Fear of the *Mercians:* And in the ſame 'Year the *Eaſt Angles* ſlew *Bernwulph*, King of 'the *Mercians.*

This War ſeems to have come almoſt to an Iſſue in one Year, for now the main Controverſie being between the Kings of *Mercia* and *Weſt Saxony* as *Egbert* roſe *Bernwulph* ſunk; and thoſe Kingdoms which had ſuffer'd under his Violence and Ambition, were glad of the Day wherein they might be deliver'd out of his Hands. The † Monk of *Croyland* gives us this Hiſtory more at large. That *Bernwulph*, deſirous to preſerve the *Eaſt Angles* from thoſe Forces which had over-run *Eaſt Saxony*, went with an Army to meet them; but they looking upon him as their greater Enemy, met him with diſplay'd Banners: He therefore reſolves to fight thoſe whom he could not join, and had the Honour of Dying at the Head of his Troops. The Event of this Victory was, that the *Eaſt Angles* threw themſelves at the Feet of *Egbert*, as One

† Ingulf. Hiſt.

in

in whom they might be both ſafe and happy; chuſing him for their Patron, whom before they had privately ſtirr'd up to be their Deliverer. Chap. V.

'* *Ann. Dom.* 825. This Year *Ludecan* King 'of the *Mercians* and his five Captains were 'ſlain with him, and *Weglaff* takes upon him 'the Kingdom. An Account of this is alſo given 'us by †*Brompton*, who makes *Bernwulph* an 'Uſurper, and clears *Egbert* even from being 'an Aggreſſor at the Beginning of the War. '*Ceolwulph* was expell'd his Kingdom, and for 'Two Years ſucceeded by *Bernwulph*. Him did '*Egbert* go forth to meet, when he came in an 'Hoſtile Manner to invade his Country; and 'Fighting in *Hellendune*, *Egbert* had a dreadful 'Victory, after which he return'd Home. Af-'ter *Bernwulph*, *Ludican* ſucceeded in the 'Kingdom of *Mercia*, and was Slain by *Eg*-'*bert*.

* Sax. An.

† Chron. Reg. Merc. Pag. 778.

As yet the Kingdom of *Mercia* was not quite reduc'd, but its Strength was ſo ſpent that it began to totter. However, the *Mercians* would not think of yeilding up themſelves; they had been for many Years Victorious, and under *Offa* had been Terrible to their Neighbour Kingdoms, ſo they reſolve to try their utmoſt Efforts before they would become ſubject to another. They did therefore ſet up *Witlaff* to be their King; not that he could pretend to any Right (‖for all his Alliance to the Crown was, that he had married *Alfleda*, the Niece of their former King *Kenwulph*) but in Times of Confuſion the moſt able Man is the moſt eligible. *Egbert* would not give them much Time to recover Breath, but before their new King could be well ſettled, comes into the Bowels of the Kingdom; ſo that all

‖ Ingulfi Hiſtor.

Chap. V. all fell before him without any Oppoſition. *Witlaff* was ſought for all over *Mercia* by the Officers of *Egbert*, but could not be found, being ſecretly retir'd to the Abby of *Croyland*, where he was with great Affection receiv'd by Abbot *Seward*, and hid in the Cell of *Althrida*, or *Etheldrith*, who there ſpent her Days, after her beloved Husband *Ethelbert*, King of the *Eaſt Angles*, was murder'd by *Offa* King of *Mercia*.

When *Egbert* came again into *Mercia*, as he return'd from *Northumberland*, being as full of Mercy as Courage, he was by the Mediation of Abbot *Seward* reconcil'd to *Witlaff*. His Goodneſs proceeded ſo far as to allow him a Tributary Crown, which he afterwards wore for Thirteen Years. In which Time the Remembrance of his Preſervation made *Witlaff* enrich the Abby of *Croyland* with great Endowments and Privileges. That when the Abbot, or any of his Monks, came into his Cities or Royal Caſtles, his Treaſures ſhould pay all their Expences, and treat them as they would do Himſelf or his Son *Wimund*. That if any Offender took Sanctuary in the Monaſtery, he ſhould be as ſafe there as in the King's Chamber; and if any Officer of Juſtice durſt fetch them from thence, he ſhould loſe his Right Foot. This and much more, which was agreed upon in the Preſence of his Lords, when King *Egbert* and *Ethelwulph* his Son met the Biſhops and Nobles in the City of *London*, to adviſe concerning the Guard of the Shores againſt the *Daniſh* Pirates, was Confirm'd by *Witlaff* in an Authentick Writing, bearing Date in the Year 833.

After *Mercia* was reduc'd, there remain'd only *Northumberland* to compleat the *Engliſh* Mo-

Monarchy; and this Kingdom was in such a Condition, that a good King, who would establish their Government, and preserve them from destroying one another, could not but be receiv'd like an Angel from Heaven; for they had done themselves more Mischief by their Rebellions and Seditions, than all that the *Scots*, and *Picts*, and *Danes*, (who then began to make their Piratical Visits) could bring upon them. * Their King *Oswulph* had been murder'd by his Subjects, and his Crown given to *Mollo*: *Mollo* was slain by the Treachery of *Alred*: *Alred* also slain by his Subjects: Sometimes their Kings that were deposed, murdering those that were set up: Sometimes the People executing Vengeance upon the Murderers. Then *Ethelbert*, the Son of *Mollo*, was chosen by Consent of all, but after a few Years deposed again by the same Consent. Next *Celwold* was cried up for King, but afterwards so unworthily slain, that his Miracles were talk'd of, and he accounted a Saint. After him *Osred*, who within the Compass of a Year was forced to quit his Throne: Upon this, *Ethelbert* the Son of *Mollo* resumes it again; but escaped not so well as he did at first, for he was miserably slain by them: Most of the Nobles and Bishops fled out of the Kingdom, as not being able to bear those Bloody Revolutions. † *Malmsbury* gives it thus in short: *Cessante Rectore per triginta annos, provinciam illam risui & præda finitimis fuisse*; *Their Government ceasing for Thirty Years, that Province became a Scorn and a Prey to its Neighbours.* These Confusions had sufficiently prepared the Way for *Egbert*'s Settlement, whose Entrance the *Saxon* Annals thus give us.

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* Malmesb. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

† De Gestis Reg. Angl. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

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'*Ann. Dom.* 827. *Egbert* led his Army to '*Dore* againſt the *Northumbrians*, who there 'ſubmitted to him, and ſo they parted from one 'another. It was before ſaid under the ſame 'Year, That he ſubdued all from the South 'Part of *Humber*: *Totum quod fuit ab Auſtrali 'parte Humbri.*

Now all the *Northumbrians* living from that River to the *Friths* of *Edenburg* and *Dunbritton*, it implies that both the Kingdoms of *Bernicia* and *Deira* were ſubject to him. There is no Account of any Battel, ſo that the whole Revolution ſeems to be brought to paſs by a voluntary Submiſſion. This was certainly the Concluſion of all, for under this Year he is call'd, *Rex qui toti Britanniæ imperavit*: *The King who Reigned over all* Britain. But afterwards it was thought more proper to call his Dominions by the Name of *England*.

The Inauguration of King *Egbert* in the Monarchy of *England* being not ſet down in the *Saxon* Annals, I ſhall here tranſcribe what I find in * Mr. *Tyrrel*.

* *Hiſt. of* England *Book* 5. *Page* 255.

'To this Year [829] I think we may refer 'that great Tranſaction, which the Annals of 'the Cathedral Church of *Wincheſter* Printed in '*Monaſt. Angl. Vol.* 1. *Pag.* 32. from an Ancient 'Manuſcript in the *Cottonian* Library. *Domit.* 'A. 13. Place under the Year following, *viz.*

'That King *Egbert* having thus ſubdued all 'the Kingdoms abovementiond, and forced them 'to ſubmit to his Dominions, called a great 'Council at *Wincheſter*, whereto were ſum-'mon'd all the Great Men of the Kingdom; and 'there by the general Conſent of the *Clerus* and '*Populus*, (*i.e.* the *Clergy* and *Layety*) King '*Egbert* was Crowned King of *Britain*: And

'at

' at the ſame Time he Enacted, That it ſhould Chap. V.
' be for ever call'd *England*; and that thoſe who
' before were call'd *Jutes* or *Saxons*, ſhould now
' be called *Engliſhmen*. And this I could not
' omit, tho' *William* of *Malmesbury* and other
' Hiſtorians agree of the Matter of Fact; yet
' I think this the trueſt and moſt particular Ac-
' count of the Time and Manner when it was
' perform'd.

But ſince *Egbert* himſelf was a *Saxon*, and his own firſt Kingdom bore the Name of *Weſt Saxony*, ſince alſo by this Name the People were more generally known, it may ſeem ſtrange that he ſhould denominate the whole Country from the *Angles*. If we may gueſs at the Reaſon, it might be becauſe there was a Tranſmarine *Saxony*, from which it ought to be diſtinguiſh'd; or perhaps this Politick Prince was willing to compliment his new acquir'd Subjects, the *Angles*, who poſſeſſed much the greateſt Part of *England*, and under this Title muſt acknowledge him their Sovereign Lord; though he permitted them to have ſubordinate Kings of their own in *Mercia*, *Eaſt England*, and *Northumberland*.

The Bounds of this Monarchy are eaſily ſet out, for it was all ſurrounded by the Ocean except in two Places, where it was alſo Eminently divided from the reſt of the Iſland. Towards the *North*, *Scotland* was cut off by the Two *Friths* of *Edenburg* and *Dunbritton*. Towards the Weſt it was ſeparated from *Wales* by King *Offa*'s Ditch, which joining the Two Rivers of *Severn* and *Dee*, made it a diſtinct Dominion.

But however Monarchs enlarge their Territories, a little Spot of Earth will at laſt be ſufficient

Chap. V. ficient for their Grave. The *Saxon* Annals give us an Accounnt of his Death, with a little Touch of his Condition in the Beginning of his Life.

Sax Ann. *Ann. Dom.* 836. This Year King *Egbert* de-
'ceas'd. Formerly *Offa* King of *Mercia*, and
'*Brithtrick* King of *Weſt Saxony*, had driven him
'for Three Years out of *England* into *France*;
'but it was before he was King. *Brithtrick*
'join'd with *Offa*, becauſe he had married his
'Daughter But afterwards *Egbert* returned
'and reigned Thirty-ſeven Years and Seven
'Months. *Ethelwulph* the Son of *Egbert* took
'upon him the Kingdom of *Weſt Saxony*, but
'he delivered to his Son *Athelſtan* the Kingdom
'of *Kent* and the *Eaſt Saxons*, of *Surry* and the
'*South Saxons*.

Ethelwulph did not long ſtand upon the Adminiſtration of Secular Government, for he was bred a Scholar, and his Genius ran another Way, as all our Hiſtorians agree. * *Brompton* makes him engaged in the Higheſt Office of the Church.

* Chronic. Pag. 802.

'*Ethelwulph*, the Son of *Egbert*, who in his
'early Age was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was
'compell'd by Neceſſity to take into hi Ma-
'nagement the Helm of the Kingdom. But his Inclination ſtill lay to the Affairs of the Church; the Divine Providence ſo diſpoſing it, that where the Foundations of a Kingdom were to be laid, which has now continued for almoſt Nine Hundred Years, Princes ſhould ſucceed one another with ſuch Qualifications as were neceſſary to the complete Eſtablihment of it. Thus *Numa* ſucceeded *Romulus*, and by Divine Inſtitutions added Strength to Humane Policy. But his moſt memorable Act, which has endured for ſo many Genera-

Generations, is the great Donation of Tythes throughout his whole Kingdom, which I will ſet down out of Sir *Henry Spelman*, as he gives it out of *Malmsbury Geſt. Reg. Lib.* 2. *cap.* and alſo more particularly from *Ingulphus*. Chap. V.

* Thus *Malmesbury*:

'*Poſt triumphatos ſcilicet hoſtes, ad Dei cultum converſus Rex Ethelwulphus, decimam omnium hydarum intra regnum ſuum Chriſti famulis conceſſit, liberam ab omnibus functionibus, abſolutam ab omnibus inquietudinibus.* After 'King *Ethelwulph* had triumph'd over his Ene'mies, he being turned to the Worſhip of God, 'granted the Tenth of all the *Hydes* [or Lands] 'within his Kingdom to the Servants of 'Chriſt, free from all Functions, and diſcharg'd 'from all Inquietudes.

* Spelman Ann. Chriſti 855.

Ingulphus thus relates it; '*Omnium Prælatorum ac Principum ſuorum (qui ſub ipſo variis provinciis totius Angliæ præerant) gratuito conſenſu, tum primo cum decimis omnium terrarum ac bonorum aliorum ſive catallorum univerſam dotaverat Eccleſiam Anglicanam, per ſuum Regium Chirographum confectum inde in hunc modum.* *Ethelwulph* by the free Conſent 'of all his Prelates and Princes, (who under 'him preſided over the ſeveral Provinces of all '*England*) did then firſt endow the whole 'Church of *England* with the Tythes of all 'Lands, and other Goods or Chattels, by his 'Royal Hand-writing made after the following 'Manner; as is there ſet down at large.

We have alſo this Account of it in the *Saxon* Annals.

'*Ann. Dom.* 854. This Year the *Pagans* had 'their Winter Quarters in *Sceapige*, [*Shepy* 'Iſland in *Kent.*] And this ſame Year King '*Ethelwluph*

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'*Ethelwulph* gave the Tenth Part of his Land 'through his whole Kingdom free from Tri-'butes, for the Glory of God, and to his own 'Eternal Salvation.

Thus did *Ethelwulph*, the Son of *Egbert*. His Grandson *Alfred* took Care to restore Learning as the Support of true Religion, that thereby the Endowments which his Father had made might be well imploy'd. At the Beginning of his Reign the *Danes* had made great Devastations, and almost ruined his whole Kingdom; but as God was pleas'd to bless him with the Recovery of it, so he made it his Business to promote Learning and Religion, which were the best Returns of Gratitude he could make to his Supreme Benefactor. We have this Account left us by the Abbot of *Jorval*.

* Brompt. Chron. *Page* 814.

'* *Alfred* put the *Psalms* and *Prayers* toge-'ther in one Book, which he carried about with 'him: But he had not attain'd much Skill in '*Grammar*, because at that Time there was no 'Learned Master to be found in all the Western 'Kingdom; therefore according to the Advice of 'the Blessed Abbot *Neot*, he first instituted pub-'lick Schools of various Arts at *Oxford*, which 'he endow'd with many Privileges. The King 'gave Alms, attended at Prayers; and being 'desirous to search into those Things that were 'then unknown, sent for *Grimbald* the Monk, 'who was skilful in Literature and Musick, out 'of *France*; and also for *John*, a Monk out of 'the Monastery of St. *David*'s at *Menevia*, the 'furthest Part of *Wales*, that by them he might 'be instructed in Learning. He so stirr'd up 'his Nobles to the Pursuit of Learning, that 'they did not only send their Sons to be in-'structed, but if they had none, they made

'their

'their Servants accompliſhed by this Advanta- Chap. V.
'geous Education. He alſo oblig'd *Werefreth*,
'Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to Tranſlate *Boethius* of
'Conſolation, and the Dialogues of the Bleſſed
'*Gregory*, into the *Saxon* Language.

There is alſo one little Note, which I ſhall here tranſcribe out of Archbiſhop * *Uſher*, who ſays he found it written in an Ancient Hand upon the Margin of *Ranulphus*'s *Polycronicon*, as taken out of the Life of *Alfred*, written by St. *Neot*. *Grimbaldus præſente Victorioſiſſimo Alfredo, cæteriſq; regni magnatibus, in Univerſitate Oxon. legit primò Lectionem Scholaſticam: Qui paulò ante fuit Pariſienſis Cancellarius.* The *moſt Victorious King* Alfred, *and the reſt of the Great Men of the Kingdom, being preſent*, Grimbald, *who a little before had been Chancellor of* Paris, *firſt read his Scholaſtical Lecture in the Univerſity of* Oxford.

* Primord. *pag.* 1176. *ad Ann.* 883.

Thus paſt the firſt Century of the Monarchy of *England*: *Egbert* beginning his Reign over *Weſt-Saxony* in the Year 800, and *Alfred* ending in the Year 900, there were indeed great Diſturbances by the *Danes*, but ſtill the Foundations were well laid.

The next Century began with Building Towns and Caſtles for the Settlement and Defence of the Monarchy. King *Edward* the Son, and *Alfreda*, the Daughter of *Alfred*, Governneſs of *Mercia*, ſecured the Country, by providing the moſt ſtrongeſt and moſt convenient Habitations.

We cannot paſs over how much *England* was indebted to a Woman in that Age. * She had a great Power in ſwaying all the Parties in the Kingdom, Beloved by the People, and Terrible to her Enemies.

* Malmeſbury, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 5.

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She mightily assisted her Brother in his Councils, subdued his Enemies, and built Towns with no less Magnificence than the King himself.

* Huntingdon, *lib.* 5.

* For Seven Years together she every Year built a Town or Two; many of which are known at this Day. As *Stafford*, *Bridgnorth*, *Warwick*, *Tamworth*, and some in *Cheshire*, to restrain the *Welsh*: Others she wrested out of the Hands of the Enemy. Her Brother *Edward* advanced further *North*, and establish'd his Kingdom by the Submission of all, where-ever he came.

* Saxon *Annal.*

* 'Ann. Dom. 924. 'This Year, before *Mid-*
'*summer*, *Edward* with a great Army went
'to *Nottingham*, and commanded a City to be
'built on the *South* Side of the River, over
'against the other; and a Bridge to be made
'over the River between the Two Cities. He
'went then into *Peakland* to *Badecanwylla*,
'[in *Darbyshire*] commanded a City to be
'built in the Neighbourhood, and a Garrison
'to be put into it. Then the King of the *Scots*
'chose him his Father and Lord: *Reignald* and
'his Son *Adulph*, and as many as dwelt in
'*Northumberland*, whether *English*, or *Danes*,
'or *Normans*, or any others, the King of the
'*Cluisdale Welsh*, and all his People, chose him
'also for their Father and Lord.

In the beginning of the Tenth Century the *English* Monarchy was very glorious, but the *Britans* driven into the *North* were very unwilling to submit to the *Saxons*, as well as those in *Wales*; and so terrible were the Disturbances of the *Danes* in those Parts, that our Kings thought better to quit those Countries, than to be engaged in perpetual Wars. Thus we are inform'd that after King *Edmund* had subdued *Cumberland*, he was pleas'd to give it away.

'An-

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'*An. Dom.* 945. This Year King *Edmund* 'waſted all the Country of the *Cumbrians*, 'and gave it to *Malcolm*, King of the *Scots*, 'upon this Condition, that he would be his 'Fellow-Soldier, both by Sea and Land. * Saxon *Annal.*

But ſtill the *Engliſh* were poſſeſſed of part of the Country, and the Strong Holds, which were afterwards given away by King *Edgar*, as Archbiſhop *Uſher* has collected.

* 'Long after the Government of the *Picts* was overthrown, the *Engliſh* loſt *Edenburgh*, it 'being evacuated, and left to the *Scots* to this 'Day; (as the Author of the Book concerning 'the Diviſion of *Scotland* ſpeaks) and about the 'Year 975, *Edgar*, King of *England*, granted the 'remaining *Lauden* to *Kenneth* III. King of '*Scots*, giving him (as *Mathew* the Flower-'gatherer has it) all the Country, which in 'their Language is called *Laudian*, upon this 'Condition, that every Year in the chief Fe-'ſtivals, when the King and his Succeſſors wore 'the Crown, they ſhould come to Court, and 'ſhould joyfully Celebrate the Feaſt, with the 'reſt of the Princes of the Kingdom. * Primord. pag. 667.

Toward the end of this Century the *Engliſh* Monarchy came to be almoſt wholly ſuppreſſed by the *Danes:* They had for Two Hundred Years continually vex'd the Nation by their Depredations; but theſe were managed by private Undertakers for the Sake of Booty: At laſt *England* having got an unactive, inconſtant Prince, the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway* came themſelves to ſwallow it up, as we are inform'd.

* '*An. Dom.* 994. *Anlaf* and *Swain* came to '*London* upon the Nativity of St. *Mary* with * Sax. Ann.

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'Ninety-four Ships, sharply assaulted the City, 'and endeavour'd to burn it.

But being beaten off by the Valour of the Citizens, they wasted *Kent*, *Surrey* and *Hampshire*; at last getting Horses, and mounting themselves, they committed unspeakable Mischiefs all over the Nation. The *English* then sunk under the Miseries of a long unfortunate Reign, and being too much addicted to the Example of their Prince, chose rather to bribe their Enemies than to fight them, tho' that which gave them present Ease, invited their future Ruin. We find their Council thus describ'd.

* Sim. Dunelm. *Hist.* *pag.* 164.

*'*An. Dom.* 1002. *Ethelred*, King of the 'English, having consulted the Chief Men of 'the Kingdom, thought it most profitable to 'make Peace with the *Danes*, to pay them a 'Stipend and Tribute to appease them, that 'they might cease from doing further Mischief. 'To this Purpose *Leoff* was sent to them, who 'entreated them to accept of a Stipend and 'Tribute. They were pleas'd with the Offer, 'and granted what was desir'd; but for keeping the Peace, they would appoint how much 'Tribute should be paid. Not long after there was paid to them 24000 *l.* But still the *Danes* liv'd among them, and were continually plundering them. This so enrag'd the *English*, that they resolv'd upon a Massacre of the *Danes*, which we have an Account of from a Monk that liv'd when it continued to be much talk'd of.

* Huntingdon, *lib.* 6. *pag.* 206.

*Upon an appointed Time the *English* Noblemen went over into *Normandy* to receive their Great Lady, and to convey her into *England*, with a Retinue suitable to the Honour of the King. In the Year 1002, *Emma*, the Gem of

Nor-

Normandy, arriv'd, and receiv'd both the Name and Diadem of a Queen. This made King *Ethelred* ſo proud, that he had Courage enough to execute the Secret Treacheries of his Heart. He ſent Letters privately to every City, and commanded that upon the ſame Day, which was the Feaſt of St. *Brice*, the 13th of *November*, and at the ſame Hour, all the *Danes* ſhould be ſlain. Thoſe that they could ſurprize they ſhould kill with the Sword, and thoſe that eſcaped the Maſſacre ſhould be got together and burnt. This was ſo certain, that our Author, when he was Young, did himſelf hear it related by the Ancient. Chap. V.

The *Saxon* Annals relate the Peace purchaſed with the *Danes*, the Marriage of *Emma*, and the Maſſacre, all in One Year.

'*An. Dom.* 1002. This Year it was at length 'decreed by the King and Nobles that Tribute 'ſhould be paid to the Navy, a Peace eſta-'bliſhed with the Pagans, upon the Condition 'they would do no more Miſchief. Afterwards 'in the ſame *Lent* came *Emma*, the Daughter 'of *Richard*, into this Land; and this ſame 'Year the King commanded that all the *Danes* 'who were in *England* ſhould be ſlain upon the 'Feaſt of St. *Brice*; becauſe that it was told 'the King they endeavour'd to deprive him of 'his Life, and then all his Nobles, that ſo they 'might poſſeſs the Kingdom without Reſiſtance.

King *Ethelred* is ſaid by *Malmesbury* to have been himſelf at that time in the City of *Oxford*, where many of the *Danes* took Sanctuary in St. *Fredeſwide*'s Church, who were all burnt, with a Noble Library in it. This is certain, that the Memory of it is to our Time kept up

Chap. V. every Year in *Oxford* more than any other City of *England*.

This dismal Cry of Blood brought over again the very next Year King *Swain* to *England**. He destroy'd *Exeter*, and the Western Parts. According to the *Saxon*, *An.* 1004. *Swain* came with his Fleet to *Norwich*, utterly wasted and burnt that City. In short, he never left harrassing the Nation till he made Way for his Son *Canutus* to mount the Throne.

* Dunclm. ad Ann. 1003.

This is the sad Catastrophe of Bloody Councils: If God permits a Nation to languish and sink under weak Princes, by his Providence he may in a little time raise them again; the Valour of *Edmund Ironsides*, the Son of *Ethelred*, might at this time soon have restor'd the *English* Affairs: But so great a Weight of Guilt sunk the Kingdom into such a Condition, that those who were the Just Executioners of Divine Vengeance came to rule over them. But before we come to treat of the *Danes*, it will be much to our Advantage if we look into the Transactions of the Church in those Times; how the *Saxons*, who came over hither *Pagans*, afterwards became *Christians*, and what were the Bounds of their Ecclesiastical Government; for there is so great an Agreeableness between those of Church and State, that they will very much enlighten and confirm one another.

We have read a very sad Complaint made by *Bede*, that the *Britains* would not take Care to convert the *Saxons* to Christianity; and he comes over again with it at the End of his History, shewing that it was done much better by others, whilst they themselves remain'd in a Schismatical Way.

* 'The *Britains*, who would not reveal that 'Knowledge of the Christian Faith, which they

* Bed. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 23.

had

'had to the *Saxons*, ſtill remain inveterate and 'halting in their Paths; they thruſt forth their 'Heads without the Crown, [or Tonſure] and 'reverence the Solemnities of Chriſt, but with-'out the Society of his Church, whilſt the '*Engliſh* People now believe, and are inſtructed 'in all Things according to the Rule of the Ca-'tholick Faith. For the Monks of *Hie*, by the 'Inſtruction of *Ecbercht*, received the Catholick 'Rites of Living, *Dunchad* being their Abbot; 'about Fourſcore Years after they ſent Biſhop '*Aidan* to Preach to the *Engliſh* Nation. Chap. V.

When we ſee how groundleſs and unreaſonable this Accuſation was, we may be convinc'd how far an honeſt Man may be carried away with the Vogue and Faction of the Times. For when the *Saxons* were Mortal Enemies to the *Britains*, how was it poſſible to attempt their Converſion, except by Way of Miracles, which were not in their Power? How is it poſſible to promote Religion in the Heat of War, except by the Sword? And this is an Advantage that belongs only to thoſe who in the Concluſion are Victorious. The *Saxons* at their firſt coming, rag'd with an Heatheniſh Fury; it was not then poſſible that the Principles of Chriſtianity ſhould take Place, when even Humanity was Renounced. Religion ſtood in their Way, and muſt be Overthrown, not only as contrary to their Pagan Superſtition, but their Violent and Injurious Proceedings. Upon this Account we read of the Martyrdom of *Vodinus*, Biſhop of *London*, and the Flight of *Theonus*, one of his Succeſſors, which are thus related by Archbiſhop *Uſher*.

* 'Hector Boethius, a *Scotiſh* Hiſtorian, relates, 'that *Vodinus*, a Man of Eminent Holineſs in the 'Opinion of all, was ſlain by *Hengiſt*, General of 'the

* Primord. pag. 68.

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'the *English Saxons*, becauſe he had reprov'd 'Vortigern, King of the *Britains*, for his Mar-'riage with *Roxiena* or *Rowena*, the Daughter 'of *Hengiſt*, an Heatheniſh Woman, caſting off 'his own lawful Wife.

'After him, but with a long Interval of 90 'Years, we find in *Joceline*'s Catalogue *Theonus*, 'the laſt Archbiſhop of *London*, of the ſame 'Name with the firſt Archbiſhop *Theonus*; 'tranſlated, as the *Britiſh* Hiſtory reports, from 'the Biſhoprick of *Gloceſter* to the Archbiſhoprick 'of *London* in the Year 542. But then *England* 'being fully poſſeſſed by the *Saxons*, and all 'the Churches laid level with the Ground, 'he fled with thoſe of the Clergy that re-'main'd into *Cambria*, or *Wales*.

In ſhort, Biſhop *Stillingfleet* thus repreſents the Condition of thoſe Places, which were under the *Saxons*, out of *Ranulphus*'s *Chronicon*, and *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, 'That the *Sax-'ons* left not the Face of Chriſtianity where-'ever they did prevail. How then would they have accepted of it, when it had been offer'd them by thoſe they eſteemed their Enemies?

This Enmity of their continued above Two Hundred Years, even after all their Nation profeſſed Chriſtianity, as may appear by the Wars they were always making upon them, but more eſpecially by that Law which *Egbert*, the firſt *Engliſh* Monarch, made by the Perſwaſion of his Queen *Redburg*, (as *Leland* informs us) that it ſhould be Death for any *Welſhman* to be found on the *Engliſh* Side of *Offa*'s Ditch. This Ditch has been mentioned before, as paſſing through the Countries between *Severn* and *Bee*, a Boundary ſo Famous, that *Shropſhire* was then called by * *Simeon* of *Durham*,

* *Hiſt. Geſt. Angl.* pag. 166. lib. 17.

bam, and other Writers, by the Name of *Provincia Scrobesbyrienſis*, which with the Change of one Letter makes the preſent Name. Chap. V.

Since ſuch was the Enmity of the *Saxons* againſt the *Britains*, it was not likely that they would accept of any Offers made by them for their Converſion. Though at this time there were Eminent Chriſtians in *Wales*, whom Charity will never permit us to think unwilling to promote their Religion: Such as Biſhop *Stillingfleet* gives us an Account of.

'* There was [in *Wales*] the freeſt Exerciſe 'of their Religion kept up, even in the Reign 'of King *Arthur*; there flouriſhed the Schools 'of Literature ſet up by *Dubritius* and *Iltutus*, 'and there were Perſons of the greateſt Re- 'putation for Learning and Sanctity in the *Bri- 'tiſh* Churches, ſuch as *Dubricius*, *Iltutus*, *Pau- 'linus*, *Gundleus*, *Cadocus*, *Sampſon*, *Paternus*, 'Daniel, and St. *David* among the reſt, whoſe 'Reputation is continued to this Day. * *Antiq. Br. Ch.* p. 346.

Certainly the poor *Britains* would have been glad if the *Saxons* had pleaſed to honour theſe Schools, by receiving their Education in them, which would have been an Opportunity of obliging their Conquerors; ſo that they are really blamed for not giving that which was diſdain'd to be receiv'd.

But though the Chriſtianity of the *Saxons* did not come immediately from the *Britains* in *Wales*, yet from thence it was carried round about through *Ireland* to them; for beſides that the firſt Chriſtians in that Iſland were *Britains*, St. *Patrick*, who planted Chriſtianity there after the Arrival of the *Scots*, was himſelf a *Britain*, as * *Marianus Scotus* affirms: *Genere Brito.* And *Columba*, who planted his Monaſtery * Ad Ann. 432.

Chap. V. Monastery in *Hie*, from whence Christianity was propagated to all the Northern Parts of *England*, as is said by † *Adamnanus*, to have sail'd into *Britain*, and to have spent several Years here. And *Aidanus*, the first Christian Bishop, sent from *Hie* to *Oswald*, King of the *Northumbrians*, was brought up in the School of *Dubricius* in *Wales*, as Bishop *Stillingfleet* tells us from those Authors who wrote his Life. So that the Northern *English* receiv'd their Christianity from the *Britains*, only the Prejudice of coming immediately from *Wales* was avoided. But to see further what Bishop *Stillingfleet* says.

* *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 1.

* *Antiq. Br. Ch.* p. 204. '* Before *Dubritius* was so much advanced, 'the Authors of his Life speak of the great 'Number of Scholars which flocked to him 'from all Parts of *Britain:* Not the Rude and 'Vulgar only, but Persons of the greatest Re-'putation, among whom they name St. *Theli-'aus*, *Samson*, *Aidanus*, and many others. Tho' *Aidanus* liv'd an Hundred Years after *Dubricius*, and was only call'd his Disciple, as having his Education at *Caerleon*, where that Archbishop had settled the Schools of Learning.

But now it is necessary to take a View of the Christian Religion, which from the Isle sometimes called *Hie*, sometimes *Jona*, and at last *Y-Columcille*, spread over the Northern Parts of *England*. This Island lyes in the Western Seas off the Coasts of *Lorn*, and is situated so as to be a most convenient Place of Intercourse between *Scotland* and that Part of *Ireland* which was anciently called *Dal-rheuda*.

That the Prevalence of Christianity was from hence, we may be assured from the long and obstinate

obſtinate Conteſts which the Chriſtians of theſe Parts had with thoſe who were Converted by the Miſſion from *Rome:* Had either the firſt Plantation by *Paulinus* left any conſiderable Remainders, or brought the People to a Dependance upon the *Pope*'s Authority, they would never have made ſuch Reſiſtance againſt the Time which he had appointed for the Obſervation of *Eaſter*. This Controverſie making ſo great a Stir in theſe Parts of the World, it is neceſſary to give ſome Account of it. We find it thus in Archbiſhop *Uſher*. Chap. V.

'The State of the *Paſchal* Controverſie diſ- * Primord. 'puted *Anno* 664 in the Synod of *Pharus*, an- pag. 931. 'ciently *Strenæſchalch*, now *Whitby* Bay, in the '*North* Riding of *Yorkſhire*, by the Presbyter '*Stephanus Eddius*, in the Life of *Wilfrid*, we 'find thus propoſed. Whether it was better to 'obſerve *Eaſter* after the manner of the *Bri-* 'tains, the *Scots*, and all the *North* Part '[of *England*] upon the *Lord's-Day*, falling 'between the XIVth and the XXth of the '[*Paſchal*] Moon; or that the *Eaſter* Lord's 'Day ſhould be kept according to the Com- 'putation of the Apoſtolick See, from the XVth 'to the XXIth?

Biſhop *Lloyd* gives us the Occaſion from whence this Difference aroſe.

*'Anciently they found *Eaſter* by a Cycle * Hiſt. Ch. 'of 84 Years, which was called the *Roman* Gr. Brit. 'Account ſo lately as in Pope *Leo*'s Time. & Irel. 'The *Scots* and *South Picts* uſed the ſame Cycle p. 67. 'from the Time of their Converſion, and ſo 'did the *Britains* without any manner of Alte- 'ration. But about 80 Years after the rending of 'the *Roman* Empire, the *Romans* having left off 'the uſe of that Cycle, took up another of 19 'Years:

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'Years: Which though it was better in many 'Respects, yet was new in these Parts, and made 'a great difference from the former.

'And when the *Romans* had used this new 'Cycle another 80 Years, coming then to have 'to do with these Northern Nations, they would 'needs have imposed the use of it upon them, 'as a Condition of their Communion. They did 'indeed face them down with Two Things, 'which were probably false: One was, that 'the *Romans* had received their Cycle by Tra-'dition from St. *Peter*; the other, that it was 'made use of every where, except in these Islands. 'To the first of these Assertions the *Scots* (for 'want of knowing better) opposed only the 'Authority of St. *John* for their Cycle; as to 'the other they could not tell what to say; 'whereas in Truth, (though they did not know 'it) the *Roman* Account came but an Age or 'Two before from *Alexandria*, and was not yet 'receiv'd in all the Western Church, not in some 'Part of *France* in particular; but that in use 'among the *Scots* was the same Cycle that they 'and the *Britains* had ever used since their Con-'version, and it was the same that was an-'ciently used in the *Roman* Church.

Tho' the *British* Christians which remain'd in *Northumberland* were Seniors to any new Converts, made by the Mission of *Austin*, the first Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Columba* had placed his Nursury of Religion and Learning in the Island of *Hie*, before the Arrival of that Apostle of the *English* (as he is call'd) in this Nation. Yet because Christianity first appear'd with open Face among the *Saxons*, by the Plantation of Religion, which he made here,

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we muſt in this Place give an Account of his Arrival out of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorian. Chap. V.

'* In the Year of our Lord's Incarnation 582, *Mauritius*, the 44th Emperor from *Auguſtus*, began his Reign, which continued 21 Years. 'In the 10th Year of his Empire, *Gregory*, a 'Perſon Eminent for his Life and Doctrine, 'came to the Pontificate of the *Roman* Apoſtolick 'See, which he govern'd for 13 Years, 6 Months, 'and 10 Days. He, admoniſh'd by the Divine 'Inſtinct, in the 14th Year of this Prince, and 'about 150 Years after the Arrival of the *Engliſh* in *Britain*, ſent the Servant of God, *Auſtin*, and ſeveral other Monks, fearing the 'Lord, with him, to Preach the Word of God 'to the Nation of the *Engliſh*. * Bed. *Hiſt. lib.* 1. *cap.* 23.

'When theſe, obedient to the Pontifical Commands, began to enter upon their Work, and 'had already gone ſome Part of their Journey, 'they were ſtruck with a deadning Fear, and 'thought to return home, rather than to go to 'a Nation Barbarous, Wild, and Incredulous, 'being not ſo much as acquainted with their 'Language: And this they agreed upon by 'the Conſent of all as the ſafeſt Courſe. They 'then preſently ſend back *Auſtin*, who was 'to be Ordain'd their Biſhop, if the *Engliſh* 'receiv'd them: He begs of the Bleſſed *Gregory*, with the moſt humble Entreaties, that 'they might not undertake an Enterprize which 'was ſo Perilous, ſo Laborious, and ſo Uncertain. But he ſending Letters of Exhortation, 'perſwades them to go on in the Work of the 'Goſpel, truſting upon the Divine Aſſiſtance.

'* *Auſtin*, and the Servants of Chriſt that were 'with him, being ſtrengthned by the Exhortation of the Bleſſed Father *Gregory*, returns to * Bed. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 25.

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'the Work of the Gospel, and arrive in *Britain*. At that time the most Potent King *Ethelbert* reign'd in *Kent*, who stretch'd the Bounds of his Empire to the Banks of the greatest River *Humber*, by which the Northern and Southern *English* People are divided. In the East Part of *Kent* there is an Island, not very small, called *Tanet*; 'tis according to the Estimation of the *English* capable of containing 600 Families. The River *Wantsuma* [or *Stour*] separates it from the Continent, which is about Three Furlongs broad, and fordable but in Two Places. Each End of it has a Mouth, and runs into the Sea. Here *Austin*, Servant of the Lord, Landed, and (as 'tis said) about Forty Men that were his Companions.

'By Direction of the Blessed Pope *Gregory* they had taken Interpreters of the *French* Nation, and sending to *Ethelbert*, they acquaint him that they came from *Rome*, and brought the best Message, which certainly promised those that complied with them Eternal Joys in the Heavens, and a future endless Kingdom with the Living and True God.

'*Ethelbert* hearing these Things, commanded that they should stay in the Island where they were, that they should be supplied with all Necessaries till he resolv'd what to do with them. For the Fame of the Christian Religion had before reach'd his Ears, his Wife being a Christian of the Royal Family of the *Franks*, by Name *Berhta*: Whom he had received from her Parents upon this Condition, that she might have an inviolable Liberty of retaining the Rule of her Faith and Religion, with a Bishop, by Name *Luidhard*,

bard, whom they had given her, as the Helper of her Faith. Chap. V.

'After ſome Days then the King came to the Iſland, and remaining in the open Air, call'd for *Auſtin* and his Companions to come and diſcourſe with him. For he was cautious that they ſhould not be admitted to their Audience in any Houſe, uſing an Ancient Obſervation, leſt if they had any thing of the Magick Art they ſhould ſurprize and deceive him. But they came endow'd not with Demoniacal, but Divine Power: Carrying a Silver Croſs, for their Enſign a Frame, upon which was painted the Image of our Lord and Saviour; ſinging *Litanies* they made their Prayers to the Lord, both for their own Salvation, and the Salvation of thoſe for whom, and to whom, they then came.

'When, ſitting down at the King's Command, they Preach'd the Word of Life to him, and all that accompanied him, he anſwer'd, Theſe are fine Words and Promiſes which you offer; but becauſe they are new and uncertain, I cannot give my Aſſent to them, forſaking thoſe Things, which I, with the whole Nation of the *Engliſh*, have ſo long obſerv'd. But becauſe you are Strangers come from afar, and (as much I can diſcern) deſire to Communicate to us what you your ſelves believe to be true and beſt, we will not moleſt you, but rather take Care to receive you with a kind Hoſpitality, and provide what is neceſſary for your Subſiſtence; nor do we forbid but that by your Preaching you may aſſociate all that you can to the Faith of your Religion. He therefore gave them a Manſion in the City of *Canterbury*, (which is the *Metropolis*

of

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'of his whole Empire; and as he had promiſed, 'gave them Temporal Food; nor did he take 'away the Liberty of Preaching.

* Bed. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 26. '* There was near that City, towards the *Eaſt*, 'a Church, anciently Built in Honour of St. '*Martin*, whilſt the *Romans* poſſeſs'd *Britain*, 'in which the Queen, being a Chriſtian, (as has 'been ſaid) was wont to pray. In this there'fore they firſt Met, Sung Pſalms, Pray'd, Per'form'd their Maſſes, Preach'd and Baptiz'd, 'till the King being Converted to the Faith, 'they receiv'd greater Liberty of Preaching eve'rywhere, and of Building or Reſtoring of 'Churches. But when he with others came to 'be delighted with the moſt Pure Lives of thoſe 'Holy Men, and to believe their ſweeteſt Pro'miſes, (the Truth of which they confirm'd by 'ſhewing many Miracles) he was Baptiz'd: 'Many began daily to flock in to hear the 'Word of God, and leaving their Heatheniſh 'Superſtition, to unite themſelves to the Holy 'Church of Chriſt; whoſe Faith and Converſi'on the King is ſaid to congratulate; but ſo, 'that he would compel none to Chriſtianity; 'only he embrac'd thoſe that believ'd with 'greater Affection, as Citizens together with 'him of the Heavenly Kingdom. For he had 'learn'd from thoſe that taught and promoted 'our Salvation, that the Service of Chriſt ought 'to be *Voluntary*, and not by *Compulſion*. Nor 'did he delay conferring upon his Inſtructers a 'Place of Reſidence worthy of their Degree, 'which, with all Things neceſſary, he ſettled up'on them in the City of *Canterbury*.

* Bed. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 29. '* Pope *Gregory* ſent to Biſhop *Auſtin*, (be'cauſe it was ſuggeſted to him that the Har'veſt was great, and the Labourers few) beſides

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'the former Miſſionaries, many Miniſters Chap. V.
'and Helpers in the Goſpel: Among
'which the firſt and chief were *Mellitus*,
'*Juſtus*, *Paulinus*, *Rufinianus*, and by them
'all things that were neceſſary for the
'Worſhip and Service of the Church, *viz.*
'Holy Veſſels and Cloths for the Altars, Orna-
'ments alſo of Churches, Pontifical and Preiſtly
'Garments, the Relicts of the Holy Apoſtles
'and Martyrs, and alſo a great may Books.
'He did by his Letters ſignifie that he had ſent
'him [*Auſtin*] a Pall, and inſinuated how he
'ought to conſtitute *Biſhops* in *Britain*. The
'Letter runs thus.

'*Gregory*, a Servant of the Servants of God,
'to the moſt Reverend and moſt Holy Brother,
'*Auſtin*, our Fellow-Biſhop. Tho' 'tis certain
'that the unſpeakable Rewards of the Eternal
'Kingdom are laid up for thoſe that Labour in
'the Service of Almighty God, yet 'tis alſo
'neceſſary that we ſhould beſtow the Rewards
'of Honour upon them, that they may by a more
'abundant Recompence be ſtirr'd up to Toil in
'the Study of this Spiritual Work. And be-
'cauſe this new Church of the *Engliſh*, by your
'Labours, and the Favour of the Lord, is made
'to partake of the Grace of Almighty God, we
'grant to you the Uſe of the Pall, but only for
'the ſolemnizing Maſſes: So that you ordain
'in the Places under your Juriſdiction Twelve
'Biſhops, and that the Biſhop of *London* ever
'hereafter be Conſecrated by his own *Synod*,
'and receive the Honour of the Pall from this
'Holy and Apoſtolick See, to which by the
'Grace of God I am now Subſervient. We
'would have you ſend a Biſhop to the City of
'*York*, whom you think fit to ordain, to which

Chap. V. 'I only add, that if the ſaid City, with the 'neighbouring Places, receiveth the Word of God, 'he ordain Twelve Biſhops, and enjoy the 'Honour of a *Metropolitan*, becauſe we deſign, 'God willing, if we live, to beſtow a Pall upon 'him alſo; whom nevertheleſs we wou'd have 'ſubject to the Direction of your Fraternity. 'But after your Deceaſe he ſhall have ſuch Pow'er over the Biſhops, whom he ſhall ordain, 'as to be in no wiſe under the Juriſdiction of 'the Biſhop of *London*. But for the future 'let this be the Diſtinction of Honour between 'the Biſhops of *London* and *York*, that he have 'precedence who is firſt ordain'd: And let 'them act unanimouſly, and in concert, what'ever is to be done in the Cauſe of Chriſt; 'let them judge rightly, and let them perform 'what they ſhall ſo judge harmoniouſly. Let 'your Fraternity have the Pre-eminence over not 'only thoſe Biſhops whom it ſhall ordain, and 'thoſe whom the Biſhop of *York* ſhall ordain, 'but alſo over all the Prieſts of *Britain*, as ha'ving our Lord God Jeſus Chriſt for the Author of 'it. Let them from your Mouth and Holy 'Life have both a Form of Sound Doctrine, 'and a Patern of Good Living; and having 'faithfully and religiouſly perform'd their 'Duty here, may they, when it ſhall be God's 'good Pleaſure, attain to his Heavenly King'dom. God preſerve you, moſt Reverend Bro'ther, in Peace and Safety. Dated the Tenth 'of the *Kalends* of *July*, in the Nineteenth 'Year of the Reign of our moſt Pious Lord '*Maurice Tiberius Auguſtus*, and the Eighteenth 'after his Conſulſhip, the Fourth Indicti'on.

'In

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Bed. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

* 'In the mean while *Auſtin*, by the Aſſiſtance 'of King *Ethelbert*, called together to a Con- 'ference the Biſhops or Doctors of the next 'Province of the *Britains*, to a Place which at 'this Day is called in Engliſh *Auguſtines ac* i. 'e. *Auſtin*'s *Oak*, upon the Confines of the '* *Wiccii* and Weſt *Saxons*: He there began 'with a Brotherly Admonition to perſwade 'them, that regarding the Catholick Peace, 'they ſhou'd for the Lord's Sake undertake the 'Common Labour of Preaching the Goſpel to 'the Nations. For they did not keep the Lords 'Day of *Eaſter* at its proper time, (but from 'the Fourteenth to the Twentieth Day of the 'Moon; which Computation is contain'd in 'a Cycle of Eighty-four Years) but did many 'other Things alſo contrary to the Unity of the 'Church.

* *People about the River* Severn Camden.

'When after a long Diſpute the Biſhop, 'wou'd hearken neither to the Intreaties, Exhor- 'tations, nor Chidings of *Auſtin* and his Aſſo- 'ciates, but wou'd prefer their own Traditions 'before the Univerſal Conſent of all the Chri- 'ſtian Churches in the World, the Holy Father '*Auſtin* put an end to this laborious, and long 'Conteſt, ſaying, Let us intreat God, who 'maketh Brothers to dwell together in Unity in 'the Houſe of their Father, to ſhew us by 'ſome Heavenly Sign which Tradition ought to 'be follow'd; by what Means we may obtain 'Admittance into his Kingdom: Let there- 'fore ſome Sick Perſon be brought, and let his 'Faith and Practice, by whoſe Prayers he ſhall 'be cured, be thought moſt acceptable to God, 'and to be follow'd by all.

'His Antagoniſts, tho' very unwillingly, 'did at laſt yield to it; and an *Engliſh* Man,

Chap. V. ‘ that had loſt his Eye-ſight was produced; being
‘ offer'd to the *Britiſh* Prieſts, he could obtain
‘ no Cure or Sanitude from their Miniſtry: At
‘ length *Auſtin*, upon a juſt Neceſſity, bows
‘ his Knees to the Father of our Lord *Jeſus*
‘ *Chriſt*, praying that he wou'd reſtore that
‘ Sight to the Blind which he had loſt; and
‘ by the Corporal Illuminations of this One Man,
‘ excite in the Hearts of many of the Faithful
‘ the Light of Spiritual Grace. Immediately
‘ the Eyes of the Blind are open'd, and *Auſtin* is
‘ declared by all a True Preacher of the Great
‘ Light of the Goſpel.

‘ The *Britains* then confeſs that they per-
‘ ceived that to be the true Way of Righteouſneſs
‘ which *Auſtin* Preached, but that they could
‘ not without the Conſent and Permiſſion of
‘ their People lay aſide any of their Old Cuſtoms.
‘ They then demanded that another *Synod*
‘ might be called, wherein more of them
‘ ſhou'd be preſent; which being agreed upon,
‘ 'tis ſaid there came Seven of their Biſhops,
‘ and many of their Learned Men, chiefly
‘ from that Celebrated Monaſtery of theirs,
‘ call'd in *Engliſh Bancornaburg*; over which
Bangor. ‘ *Dinooth* is at that time ſaid to have been *Ab-*
‘ *bot*.

‘ Before they went to the aboveſaid Council,
‘ they came to a Religious and Cunning Man,
‘ who led an *Anchoretick* Life among them, to
‘ conſult whether at the Preaching of *Auſtin* they
‘ ſhou'd forſake their own Traditions. His an-
‘ ſwer was, *If he be the Man of God follow*
‘ *him*. They ſaid, but how ſhall we know
‘ that? He reply'd. *The Lord ſaith, Take*
‘ *my Yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am*
‘ *Meek and Lowly in Heart*. If therefore that

‘ *Au-*

'*Auſtin* be Meek and Lowly in Heart, it is to Chap. V.
'be ſuppos'd, that becauſe he himſelf bears the
'Yoke of Chriſt, he offers it to be born by you
'alſo. But if he be High and Proud, 'tis
'manifeſt, ſince he is not of God, what
'he ſays is not to be regarded by
'you.

'They again ſaid, How ſhall we able to diſ-
'cern this? Take Care, ſayes he, that he and
'his Aſſociates may come firſt to the Place of
'the Synod; and if he ſhall riſe up to you
'when you approach him, knowing thus that
'he is the Servant of Chriſt, hear him obe-
'diently; but if he ſhall ſlight you, and neg-
'lect to riſe up to you, do ye alſo, ſeeing ye are
'more numerous, ſlight him.

'They did as he bad them, and it happen'd
'that when they came *Auſtin* ſat in his
'Chair. So ſoon as they ſaw that they fell
'into a Rage, and marking him for a Proud
'Man, labour'd to contradict him in every
'thing he ſaid. But he ſaid to them, in many
'Things indeed ye act contrary to our Cuſtom,
'yea, and that of the Univerſal Church too;
'yet nevertheleſs, if ye will hearken to me in
'Three Things, namely, the celebrating *Eaſter*
'at the proper Time; the performing the Office
'of *Baptiſm* (whereby we are Born again to
'God) after the manner of the Holy *Roman* and
'Apoſtolick Church; and preaching the Goſpel
'together with us to the *Engliſh*; in whatever
'elſe ye act contrary to our Cuſtoms we will
'contentedly tolerate you. But they anſwer'd,
'That they wou'd do none of theſe Things,
'neither wou'd they have him for their Arch-
'biſhop: Thus reaſoning among themſelves,
'If he wou'd not now riſe up to us, how much

Chap. V. ‘ more will he ſet Light by us if we begin to
‘ put our ſelves under his Juriſdiction. Upon
‘ this *Auſtin*, the Man of God, is ſaid by Way
‘ of threatning to have foretold them, that ſince
‘ they wou'd not accept of Peace with their
‘ Brethren, they ſhould have War from their
‘ Enemies. And if they wou'd not preach to the
‘ *Engliſh* Nations the Way of Life, they ſhou'd
‘ by their Hands ſuffer the Vengeance of Death;
‘ which was to a Tittle fulfill'd, as he had pro-
‘ phecy'd, the Divine Judgment purſuing
‘ them.

‘ For after theſe Things *Ethelfrid* himſelf, of
‘ whom we have before ſpoken, the Braveſt of
‘ the *Engliſh* Kings, getting together a great
‘ Army at the City of the Legions, which is
‘ by the *Engliſh* call'd *Legaceſter*, but by the
‘ *Britains* more truly *Carlegion*, made a great
‘ Slaughter of that Perfidious Nation; and
‘ when he was making War upon them, he ſaw
‘ their Prieſt got together a Part in a Place of
‘ more than Ordinary Safety, to pray to God
‘ for the Succeſs of their Arms; he ask'd who
‘ they were? Or with what Deſign they were
‘ met together there? (They were moſt of
‘ them of the Monaſtery of *Bangor*, which 'tis
‘ ſaid contain'd ſo many Monks, that when the
‘ Monaſtery was divided into Seven Parts, with
‘ diſtinct Rectors over them, every Part had no
‘ leſs Three Hundred Men, who were all uſed
‘ to live by the Labour of their Hands) Moſt of
‘ theſe therefore, with ſome others, were got to-
‘ gether at the above ſaid Place, after a Faſt of
‘ Three Days, to offer up their Prayers, having
‘ for their Defender one named *Brocmal*, to
‘ protect them while they were intent upon
‘ their Prayers from the Incurſions of the *Barba-*
‘ *rians*. ‘ When

'When *Ethelfrid* underſtood the Occaſion of their meeting, he ſaid, If then they cry to their God againſt us, they verily who purſue us with their adverſe prayers, tho they don't bear Arms, do nevertheleſs fight againſt us: He therefore firſt turns his Arms againſt them, and ſo deſtroy'd the reſt of their Nefarious Forces with little Damage to his own Army. There are reported to have been Slain in that Fight (of thoſe that were met together to pray) about Twelve Hundred Men, and only Fifty to have eſcaped by Flight. *Brocmal* and his Men fled at the firſt approach of the Enemy, and ſo left thoſe whom he ſhould have defended Naked and Unarm'd to the Fury of the Invader. Chap. V.

'Thus was fulfill'd the Prophecy of the Holy Pontiff *Auſtin*, tho' he had been long before tranſlated to a Heavenly Kingdom; that ſo the Perfidious might feel the Vengeance of Temporal Deſtruction, becauſe they ſlighted the Deſigns of Eternal Salvation when offer'd to them.

'Tis a great Diſadvantage to the *Britiſh* Biſhops that they had no Hiſtorian of their Side to relate to us this great Conference with *Auſtin*, the Monk, and his Aſſociates. *Bede* himſelf was a Monk, and though of very honeſt Intentions, was extremely devoted to the *Romiſh* Party, inſomuch that he ſwallows all their Fabulous Miracles, and looks upon thoſe that maintain'd the Rights of the Ancient Churches as Schiſmatical. So that what we find in him as to the Plainneſs and Integrity of the *Britains*, muſt be undeniable; but we are not oblig'd to ſubmit to all the Reports which he heard of Things done above an Hundred Years before he was Born. A little to

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relieve us, we have the Answer of the Abbot of *Bangor* to *Austin* the Monk, demanding Subjection to the Church of *Rome*, given us by Sir *Henry Spelman* out of an Ancient *British* Manuscript, and punctually set down by him in *Welsh*, *Latine* and *English*: The *English* Words are these.

Spelm. Concil. ad an. 601.

'Be it known, and without doubt to you, that 'we all are, and every one of us, obedient and 'subject to the Church of God, and to the 'Pope of *Rome*, and to every Godly Christian, 'to love every One in his Degree in perfect 'Charity; and to help every one of them by 'Word and Deed to be the Children of God. 'And other Obedience than this I do not know 'due to him, whom ye name to be *Pope*, nor 'to be the *Father of Fathers*, to be claimed and 'demanded. And this Obedience we are ready 'to give and pay to him, and to every Christian 'continually. Besides, we are under the Govern-'ment of the Bishop of *Caerleon* upon *Usk*, 'who is to oversee under God over us, 'to cause us to keep the Way spiri-'tual.

This Answer is so fair and reasonable, such a full Confutation of the Common Slander, that the *British* Bishops were unwilling to join with *Austin* in the Conversion of the *Saxons*, that the *Papists* do all they can to overthrow the Credit of the Manuscript: But * Bishop *Stillingfleet* has sufficiently taken Care of its Vindication. And reflecting upon the foregoing Discourse, proves, that a Submission to the Pope of *Rome*, was the main Point of the Controversie which would be by no means yeilded to by this Apostolick Church of *Britain*. His Words follow.

* *Ant. Brit. Chur.* P. 360.

'The

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'* The *Britiſh* Biſhops gave *Auguſtine* a 'Meeting, where the firſt thing propoſed by 'him was, That they would embrace the Unity 'of the Catholick Church, and then join with 'them in Preaching to the Gentiles: For '(ſaith he) they did many Things repugnant to 'the Unity of the Church: Which was in 'plain Terms to charge them with Schiſm; 'and the Terms of Communion offer'd, did 'imply Submiſſion to the Church of *Rome*, and 'by Conſequence to his Authority over 'them.

* *Antiq. Brit. Chur.* p. 357.

'But the utmoſt that could be obtain'd from 'them, was only that they would take further 'Advice, and give another Meeting with a 'greater Number. And then were preſent Seven 'Biſhops of the *Britains*, and many Learned 'Men, chiefly of the Monaſtery of *Banchor*, 'where *Dinoth* was then Abbot. And the Re-'ſult of this Meeting was, *That they utterly 'refus'd Submiſſion to the Church of* Rome, *or to* 'Auguſtine, *as Archbiſhop over them.* And for 'the Account of this we are beholding to *Bede*, 'whoſe Authority is liable to no Exception in 'this Matter.

Before *Auſtin* demanded Subjection of the *Britiſh* Biſhops, Pope *Gregory* had ſent him a Pall and alſo *Mellitus*, *Juſtus*, and *Paulinus*, to be his Aſſiſtants. When he found he could have no Succeſs among the *Britains* in *Wales*, he diſpoſes of theſe in the Courts of *Saxon* Princes; who if they receiv'd Chriſtianity, would not ſcruple his Juriſdiction. For they being as yet Heathen, could underſtand Religion only as he taught it them, and by the then riſing Greatneſs of the Pope were ready to ſwallow any thing that came from *Rome*. *Bede* gives us an

Chap. V. an Account how *Auſtin* diſpos'd of his Miſſionaries.

* Bed. lib. 2. cap. 4. ‘ * In the Year of our Lord's Incarnation 604, ‘ *Auſtin*, Archbiſhop of the *Britains*, ordain'd ‘ Two Biſhops, *Mellitus* and *Juſtus*. *Melitus* to ‘ Preach to the Province of the Eaſt *Saxons* who ‘ by the *Thames* are divided from *Kent*, and ‘ border upon the Eaſtern Sea, whoſe Metropo- ‘ lis is the City of *London*, placed upon the ‘ foreſaid River, the Mart of many People who ‘ came to it by Sea and Land.

‘ In this Nation at that time reign'd *Sebert*, ‘ the Nephew of *Ethelbert*, by his Siſter ‘ *Ricula*; though he was under the Power of ‘ *Ethelbert*, who had an Empire over all the ‘ Nations of the *Engliſh*, to the Banks of the ‘ River *Humber*, as has been ſaid. When this ‘ Province, by the Preaching of *Mellitus*, had ‘ receiv'd the Word of Truth, King *Ethelbert* ‘ Built the Church of the Apoſtle St. *Paul* in ‘ the City of *London*, in which *Mellitus* and ‘ his Succeſſors had the Place of their Epiſcopal ‘ See.

Auſtin ordain'd *Juſtus* a Biſhop in *Kent* it ſelf, ‘ in a *Doruvernian* City, which the *Engliſh* ‘ Nation, from a Principal Man there called ‘ *Roff*, have named *Roſeceſtre*. It is almoſt ‘ Four and Twenty Miles *Weſt* of *Canterbury*. ‘ Therein King *Ethelbert* Built the Church of ‘ St. *Andrew*, and beſtow'd great Gifts upon ‘ the Biſhops, both of this Church, and that of ‘ *Canterbury*. He gave alſo Territories and ‘ Poſſeſſions for the Uſe of thoſe who were with ‘ the Biſhops.

* Bed. Lib. 2. cap. 9. ‘ * The Nation of the *Northymbrians*, with ‘ *Edwin* their King, received the Word of Faith ‘ by the Preaching of *Paulinus*. The Occaſion

‘ was

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'was this; the King was Allied to the Kings of '*Kent*, having Married *Ethelburga*, the Daugh-'ter of King *Ethelbert*; she went also by ano-'ther Name, *Tate*. When he first courted her, 'Ambassadors were sent by her Brother *Ead-'bald*, who was then King of *Kent*, to Treat of 'the Match: But it was told them that it was 'not lawful for a Christian Virgin to Marry a 'Pagan, lest the Faith and Sacraments of the 'Heavenly King should be profaned by the 'Consortship of a King, who was altogether 'Ignorant of the Worship of the True God. 'Which being told to *Edwin*, he promised he 'would do nothing contrary to the Christian 'Religion, which the Virgin so much reverenc'd, 'but that she might, after a Christian manner, en-'joy her Faith, and the Worship of her Reli-'gion, together with all those Men or Women, 'Priests or Servants, that came along with her. 'And he gave some Intimation, that he himself 'would came over to that Religion, if 'when it was examin'd by Wise Men it 'was found to be more Holy, and Worthy of God.

Upon this the Virgin was promis'd, and sent 'to *Edwin*; and according to Appointment, '*Paulinus*, a Man Beloved by God, was or-'dained Bishop. He went along with her, and 'by the Celebration of the Heavenly Sacraments, 'as well as daily Exhortations, confirm'd her 'and her Attendants, that they might not be 'polluted by the Society of the Pagans. *Pau-'linus* was ordain'd Bishop by Archbishop *Ju-'stus* upon the 12 th of the *Calends* of *August*, 'in the Year 625: He came to *Edwin* with 'the Virgin, as the Companion of their Carnal 'Marriage; but he was more intent upon conver-'ting the Nation to the Knowledge of the Truth,

'that,

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'that, as the Apostle says, * *He might present a chaste Virgin to one Husband, Christ.*

* 2 Cor. 11. 2.

† Bed. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 14.

'† In the Year 627, and from the coming of the *English* into *Britain*, about 180, King *Edwin*, with all the Nobility, and very many of the Common People of his Nation, was Baptized at *York* upon *Easter* Day: In which City he gave an Episcopal Seat to his Bishop and Instructor, *Paulinus*. So great a Fervour of Faith, and Desire of Baptism to Salvation, was among the *Northumbrians*, that when *Paulinus* came with the King and Queen into a Mannor, or House of the King's, called * *ad Gebrin*, and abode Thirty-six Days there, employ'd wholly in Catechising and Baptizing; from Morning to Evening there came so great a Croud of People out of all the Villages and Places adjoining, that he spent his Time in instructing them; and being instructed, he Baptiz'd them in the Neighbouring River *Glen*.

* Yeverin, *upon the River* Glen, *in* Northumb. Camd.

'This was done in the Province of the *Bernicians*, and in the Province of *Deira*, where *Paulinus* was wont often to reside with the King; he Baptiz'd in the River * *Swal*, which runs by the Village *Cataractus*; for as yet at the Beginning of a Church (that was but then in the Birth) there were no Oratories and Fonts.

* *Which runs into the* Your, *and so to* York.

† Bed. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 16.

'† *Paulinus* also preach'd the Word to the Province of *Lindsy*, which lyes next to the South Bank of the River *Humber*, and stretch'd it self out to the Sea. He First converted *Blecca*, Prefect of the City of *Lincoln*, with his Family. And near the City call'd by the *English* ‖ *Tiovulfingacestir*, in the Presence of King *Edwin*, *Paulinus* Baptiz'd a Multitude of

‖ Turgarton *in* Nottinghamshire. Camden.

'of People in the River *Trent*. So great Peace Chap. V.
'was there at that Time in *Britain*, whereever
'the Empire of King *Edwin* extended it self,
'that (as 'tis Proverbially said to this Day) a
'Woman with her Infant might travel cross
'*England* from Sea to Sea, and no Body hurt
'them.

But this Glorious Morning of Christianity among the *Saxons* was soon cover'd with Clouds, and follow'd with such dismal Tempests, that these new Converted Provinces fell under the Power of the Heathen again. * After the Death of *Ethelbert* First Christian King of *Kent*, his Son and Successor *Eadbald* rejected the Christian Religion, and nipp'd the tender Buds of the growing Church. The like unhappy Succession was there in the Kingdom of the *East Saxons*, all the Sons of King *Sebert* were *Pagans*, and ridicul'd the Sacraments; they Banish'd *Mellitus*, Bishop of *London*, out of their Kingdom, who retir'd into *Kent* to consult with *Laurentius*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Justus* Bishop of *Rochester*, what Course they had best take. 'It 'was agreed by common Consent, that it was 'better for them to return into their Country, 'where they might serve God with a free Con-'science, than to continue without doing any 'Good among the *Barbarians*, who were Rebels 'to the Faith. *Mellitus* and *Justus* first went 'off, and retir'd into *France*, resolving there to 'expect the Event of the present Affairs.

* Bed. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 5.

But the greatest Storm fell upon the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, which may more justly be looked upon as the Vengeance of God upon the *Saxons*, for not concurring in the Propagation of Christianity with the *British* Bishops, (except they would enslave themselves to *Rome*) than

Au-

Chap. V. *Austin*'s Prophesie could be esteem'd an Intimation of the Divine Judgment upon them, for not resigning themselves up to such a Subjection. 'Twas *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, who destroy'd the *Britains* and massacred the Monks of *Banchor*, as we find.

*Sax. Ann. ' * *Ann. Dom.* 607. This Year *Ethelfrid* lead ' his Army to *Leicester*, and there slew so many ' *Britains* as could not be numbred. And thus ' was the Presage of *Austin* accomplished; *If ' the* Britains *will not enter into a Peace with us, ' they shall perish by the Hands of the* Saxons; ' there were slain 200 [1200] Priests, who ' came thither to pray for the Army of the *Bri- ' tains*; *Brocmal* their Leader escaping from with ' about Fifty.

We find on the other side, that it was *Caedwalla* King of the *Britains*, with *Penda* the *Pagan* King of *Mercia*, who slew *Edwin*, Successor to *Ethelfrid*, the First Christian King of *Northumberland*, destroy'd the whole Province, and so ruin'd Religion there, that the Conversions by the Popish Missions were overthrown, the *Roman* Interest was utterly lost in it for Thirty Years, and they were fain to be Converted again from *Scotland*. † *Bede* gives us the following Account:

† Lib. 2. Cap. 20.

' When *Edwin* had most gloriously rul'd the ' *English*, Nation together with the *Britains*, for ' Seventeen Years, in which Time (as has been ' said) he became a Soldier of the Kingdom of ' Christ, *Caedwalla* King of the *Britains* rebell'd ' against him, and had the Assistance of the stout ' *Penda* of the Royal Race of the *Mercians*: ' There was a terrible Battel fought in * *Heth- ' feld*, where *Edwin* was slain, *Anno* 633, and ' his whole Army either kill'd or dispers'd. A- ' that

* *In* Northumberland.

'that Time there was the greateſt Deſtruction in 'the Church and Nation of the *Northumbrians*, 'for one of the Generals was a *Pagan*, and the 'other being a *Barbarian*, was more cruel than 'the *Pagans*. *Penda*, with all the *Mercians*, 'was Devoted to Idols, and ignorant of the 'Chriſtian Name; but *Caedwalla*, though he 'had the Name and Profeſſion of a Chriſtian, 'yet he was ſo cruel that he ſpar'd neither Sex 'nor Age. With a Savage Fierceneſs he gave 'them to be Tormented to Death, and raged 'over the Provinces, as if he deſign'd to extir-'pate the whole *Engliſh* Nation. He ſhew'd 'no Reverence to the Chriſtian Religion, which 'was begun among them; for even to this Day 'it is the Cuſtom of the *Britains* to deſpiſe the 'Faith and Religion of the *Engliſh* as of no Ac-'count, and they will no more Communicate 'with them than with *Pagans*. In ſo great a 'Diſturbance of the *Northumbrians*, juſt upon 'the great Slaughter, when there was no Safe-'ty but in Flight, *Paulinus* took with him the 'Queen *Ethelburga*, whom he had brought thi-'ther, and return'd by Sea into *Kent*, where he 'was very honourably receiv'd by Archbiſhop '*Honorius* and King *Eadbald.*

Though God was pleas'd thus to chaſtiſe the *Northumbrians*, and to rebuke the Pride of *Rome*, yet he ſoon rais'd them up a Deliverer, and reſtor'd his own Religion. '*Oſwald*. the 'Brother of *Eanfrid*, (who ſet up to be King of the Province of *Bernicia* after *Edwin* was ſlain, but ſucceeded alſo in his Misfortune) 'came upon *Ceadwalla* with a ſmall Army, but 'they were ſuch Forces as were ſtrong in the 'Faith of Chriſt; the execrable King of the '*Britains*, with his Mighty Army, which he 'boaſted

* Bed. *lib.* 3 *cap.* 1.

Chap. V. 'boaſted nothing was able to reſiſt, was there
'ſlain.

This whole Revolution was brought about within the Compaſs of One Year, which for its Unhappineſs is not reckon'd in the Reigns of their Kings, but *Oſwald* is ſaid immediately to ſucceed *Edwin*.

† Ibid. '† This *Oſwald*, all the Time that *Edwin* 'Reign'd, with many of the young Nobility, liv'd 'in Exile among the *Scots* and *Picts*; there they 'were inſtructed in that Doctrine which the '*Scots* profeſs'd, were made Partakers of the 'Grace of Baptiſm, and now the King who had 'been their Enemy was dead, they might freely 'return again into their own Country.

After King *Oſwald* had obtain'd an entire Victory over his Enemies, he takes Care in the Settlement of his Kingdom to ſettle the Chriſtian Religion in it; being warn'd by the Fate of his Brother *Eanfred*, who to make his Way eaſie to the Throne, || threw off Chriſtianity, and polluted himſelf with Idols, but in a very little Time loſt his Kingdom as well as his Religion. We have a very particular Account of his Reſtoring the Church, though it was according to his Education, and not in the *Roman* Way.

|| Ibid.

* Bed. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. '* When King *Oſwald* had taken upon him 'the Kingdom, deſiring the Nation he govern'd 'might receive the Grace of Chriſtian Faith, 'whereof he had had ſuch happy Experience in 'Conquering the *Barbarians*, he ſent to the 'Chiefeſt of the *Scots*, among whom he and 'thoſe Soldiers who were in Exile with him 'were Baptiz'd, that a Biſhop might be ſent to 'them, by whoſe Doctrine and Miniſtry the '*Engliſh* Nation might be inſtructed in the Faith 'of our Lord, and receive his Sacraments. It

'was

'was presently granted, and Bishop *Aidan* was Chap. V.
'sent, a Man of the greatest Modesty, Piety
'and Moderation, *having a Zeal for God, but*
'*not fully according to Knowledge:* For he kept
'the Lord's-Day of *Easter* according to the Cu-
'stom of his Country, as we have often men-
'tion'd their Custom to observe it from the
'Fourteenth Day of the Moon to the Twenti-
'eth.

'Thus the Northern Province of the *Scots*,
'and all the Nation of the *Picts*, at that Time
'kept their *Easter*, thinking that in this they fol-
'lowed the Writings of that Holy and Laudable
'Father *Anatolius*; but how truly every Man
'that is skilful may easily know. Besides, that
'the Nations of the *Scots*, who live in the
'Southern Parts of *Ireland*, have a great while
'ago learned by the Admonition of a Bishop of
'the Apostolick See to observe the Canonical
'Rites of *Easter*.

The King gave the Bishop, when he came to
'him, a Place for his Episcopal Seat in the
'* Island of *Lindisfarn*, where the Tide flows
'twice a Day, and makes it an Island; but twice
'a Day the Water ebbing again, it is joined to the
'Continent. The King freely and diligently at-
'tending upon his Admonitions, took care that
'the Church of Christ should be much edified
'and enlarged in his Kingdom. Then the Eye
'and the Ear were treated with the most Noble
'Entertainment. The Bishop who preach'd the
'Gospel was not perfectly acquainted with the
'*English* Language, but the King stood by with
'his Captains and Servants, and interpreted the
'Word of God as it was spoken; for by the long
'Time of his Exile he fully understood the
'*Scotish* Tongue. Then there came many every

* Holy-Island, *not far from* Berwick, *upon the Coast of* Northumberland.

Chap. V.

'Day out of *Scotland* into *Britain*, and thoſe 'Provinces of the *Engliſh* over which *Oſwald* 'Reign'd; they preach'd the Word of God with 'great Devotion; thoſe who were of the De-'gree of Prieſts, Baptiz'd ſuch as believ'd; 'Churches were built in ſeveral Places, and the 'Multitudes flock'd with Joy to hear the Word 'of God. The *Engliſh* Youth, together with 'thoſe of great Years, were inſtructed by Ma-'ſters that came out of *Scotland*, both in their 'Studies and Regular Diſcipline.

After the Death of Biſhop *Aidan*, we ſtill find the Succeſſion in the See of *Lindisfarn* ſupply'd from the Iſland *Hie*, and that this Way Chriſtianity was propagated in the middle Parts of *England*. Thus * *Bede* proceeds.

* Lib. 3. Cap. 25.

'Biſhop *Aidan* being taken out of this Life, '*Finan* was ordain'd and ſent by the *Scots*; who 'to ſucceed him receiv'd the Degree of Epiſco-'pacy, and built a Church in the Iſland of '*Lindisfarn* fit for the See of a Biſhop: After 'the Manner of the *Scots* he built it all, not of 'Stone, but ſaw'd Timber, and cover'd it with 'Reed; which, in After-times, the moſt Reve-'rend Archbiſhop *Theodore* Dedicated to the 'Honour of St. *Peter* the Apoſtle. Concerning the further Propagation of Chriſtianity in o-ther Parts of *England*, we have this Ac-count.

† Bed. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 21.

'† The *Mercians*, or thoſe of *Middle Eng-'land*, receiv'd the Faith and Sacraments of 'Truth under Prince *Peada*, Son of *Penda*. This 'Excellent Youth, moſt worthy to bear the 'Name and Perſonage of a King, was preferr'd 'by his Father to the Kingdom of that Nation: 'He came to *Oſwy*, King of the *Northumbrians*, 'to court his Daughter *Alfleda*, but could not

'pre-

Chap. V

'prevail, unleſs he, and the Nation he govern'd, 'would receive the Chriſtian Faith and Bap-'tiſm. Hearing the Goſpel preach'd, the Pro-'miſes of the Heavenly Kingdom, the Hope of 'the Reſurrection, and a future Immortality, he 'freely declar'd that he would be made a Chri-'ſtian, tho' he ſhould not ſucceed in his Court 'to the Virgin.

'He was Baptiz'd by Biſhop *Finan*, with all 'the Courtiers and Servants that attended upon 'him, in a Royal Village call'd **Admurum*; and 'receiving Four Presbyters, who were fit by their 'Life and Doctrine to inſtruct his Nation, he 'return'd with great Satisfaction. The Presby-'ters were *Cedda*, and *Adda*, and *Betti*, and *Diu-'ma*; of which the laſt was by Nation a *Scot*, 'the reſt *Engliſh*.

* Walſend, *near* New-caſtle.

'Coming into the Province with the Prince, 'they preach'd, and were willingly heard. E-'very Day many of the Nobles and Commonal-'ty renounc'd the Filthineſs of Idolatry, and 'were waſh'd in the Fountain of Faith. 'Nor did King *Peada* forbid the Preaching of 'the Goſpel to the *Mercians*, but who would 'might hear. He only hated and deſpis'd thoſe, 'that being inſtructed in the Faith of Chriſt, did 'not the Works which were agreeable to that 'Faith: He ſaid they muſt needs be miſerable 'who did not obey that God in whom they be-'liev'd.

'Theſe Things were tranſacted Two Years 'before the Death of *Penda*; who being ſlain, 'and the moſt Chriſtian King *Oſwi* receiving 'the Kingdom, *Diuma*, One of the Four Prieſts, 'was made Biſhop of the Mediterranean *Engliſh* 'and the *Mercians*, being Ordain'd by Biſhop '*Finan*. There were ſo few Prieſts, that it

Chap. V. ‘ was neceſſary to ſet One Biſhop over Two Na-
‘ tions.

This was the Beginning of the Epiſcopal See at *Lichfield*, which then alſo took in the Dioceſe of *Lincoln*, called here the Mediterranean *Angles*, as a diſtinct People from the *Mercians*. *Bede* alſo adds, that the Succeſſion to this Biſhoprick was continued from the Iſle of *Hie*, which now ſupplied the greateſt Part of *England*. ‘ Upon the Death of *Diuma*, *Ceolla* ſucceeded in ‘ his Biſhoprick, who was alſo of the *Scotiſh* ‘ Nation; whoſe next Succeſſor was *Trumhere*, ‘ a Religious Man, brought up in the Monaſtick ‘ Life; by Birth an *Engliſhman*, but Ordain'd ‘ by the *Scots*.

After the Relapſe of the *Eaſt Saxons* into Idolatry, and the Baniſhment of their Firſt Biſhop *Mellitus*, the Epiſcopal See of *London* lay vacant for near Fifty Years: But we now find it ſupplied from the North, from whence Chriſtianity was propagated to the greateſt Part of the Nation. This being an Account of the Converſion of thoſe who are now moſt conſiderable in this Kingdom, ſhall be ſet down at large.

*[Bed. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 22. ‘ * The *Eaſt Saxons* at this Time receiv'd the ‘ Faith by the Endeavours of King *Oſwy*, which ‘ they formerly caſt off at the Expulſion of Biſhop *Mellitus*. The King of that Nation was ‘ *Sigebert*, (who Reign'd after him that was ‘ call'd *Sigebert the Little*) He was a Friend of ‘ King *Oſwy*'s, and often went to viſit him in ‘ the Province of *Northumberland*: *Oſwy* would ‘ be continually telling him it was not poſſible ‘ there ſhould be Gods that were made by Mens ‘ Hands. The Materials of Creating a God ‘ could not be Stone and Wood, whoſe Shavings ‘ were conſumed by the Fire, or elſe were put

‘ to

'to common Uſes, caſt out of Doors, and trod under Foot. We were to underſtand that God was of Infinite Majeſty, Inviſible by the Eye of Man, Omnipotent and Eternal, who made and governs Heaven and Earth and all Mankind, and will come to Judge the World in Righteouſneſs; whoſe Throne we are to believe Eternal in the Heavens, not to be placed in the vile and periſhing Metals. And we have very good Cauſe to be aſſur'd, that all thoſe who learn and do the Will of him by whom they were created, ſhall receive Eternal Rewards from him. Chap. V.

'After King *Oſwy* had with a kind and brotherly Affection often inſtill'd this and the like Diſcourſes into the Mind of King *Sigebert*, and his Friends alſo yielded their Aſſent to them, he believ'd, and was Baptiz'd, with all that attended, by Biſhop *Finan*, in the Royal Town mention'd Before, which is called *Ad Murum*, becauſe it was near the Wall with which the *Romans* did formerly begirt the Iſland of *Britain*, Twelve Miles off from the Eaſtern Sea.

'King *Sigebert* being now made a Citizen of the Eternal Kingdom, returned to the Place of his Temporal Throne; but begg'd of King *Oſwy* that he would give him ſome Doctors, who might convert his Nation to the Faith of Chriſt, and waſh them in the Baptiſmal Fountain. Upon which he ſent to the Province of the Mediterranean *Angles*, and call'd to him *Cedd*, that Man of God, whom with one other Presbyter he ſent to preach the Goſpel to the *Eaſt Saxons*.

'When they had gone into many Places, and gathered a great Church, *Cedd* return'd to *Lin-*

Chap. V. ‘ *disfarn* to discourse with Bishop *Finan*; who ‘ when he found how the Work of the Gospel ‘ had prospered, made him Bishop over the *East* ‘ *Saxons*, having call'd Two other Bishops to ‘ him to assist in the Ministry of Ordination.

‘ He thus receiving the Degree of Episcopa- ‘ cy, returned to his Province, and with more ‘ Authority fulfill'd the Work he had begun. ‘ He made Churches in many Places, ordain'd ‘ Priests and Deacons, who might assist him in ‘ Preaching the Word of Faith, and the Admi- ‘ nistration of Baptism; chiefly in a City, which ‘ in the *Saxon* Language is call'd * *Ythancester*; ‘ and also in that which is named † *Tillaburg*: ‘ The former of those is situated upon the River ‘ ‖ *Pant*, the other upon the Bank of the ‘ *Thames*.

* *Near* Maldon *in* Essex. Camden.

† Tilbury.

‖ Frosh wel *in* Essex. Camden.

‘ In these Places having got together a great ‘ Number of the Servants of Christ, he taught ‘ them to observe the Discipline of a Regular ‘ Life, as much as such new Converts were able ‘ to bear.

But to have an entire View of the Church at this Time in *Great Britain*, it is necessary also to see what Progress the *Romish* Missionaries made; because by their Arts and Insinuations, which were most acceptable in the Courts of Princes, they at last prevail'd over those that maintain'd their Ancient Rites and Liberty. We left *Mellitus*, the First Bishop of *London*, and *Justus*, First Bishop of *Rochester*, in the Time of the *Saxons*, withdrawn into *France*, and *Laurentius*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, following them, upon the Account that the Kings of *Kent* and *East Saxony*, *Eadbald* and *Swithelm*, (who succeeded their Christian Fathers *Ethelbert* and *Sigebert*) were Pagans and Enemies to the Chri- stian.

ſtian Religion. Upon this *Bede* tells the following Story. Chap. V.

'* When *Laurentius* was following *Mellitus* and *Juſtus*, ready to take his Leave of *Britain*, he commanded a Bed ſhould be prepared for him in the Church of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, where after he had pour'd out many Prayers and Tears to God for the State of the Church, when he compos'd himſelf to Reſt and Sleep, the moſt bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles appeared to him, and for a great while, in the Time of Secret Night, laſh'd him ſeverely, with an Apoſtolical Reproof demanding of him wherefore he would forſake the Flock which he had committed to his Care? To what Shepherd he would reſign the Sheep of Chriſt, now in the midſt of Wolves, whilſt he fled away? Have you (ſaid he) ſo forgot my Example, who for the ſake of thoſe Little Ones whom Chriſt recommended to me, (that by my Care of them I might give a Demonſtration of my Love to him) have undergone Bonds, and Stripes, and Priſons, and all Afflictions, even Death it ſelf, even the Death of the Croſs, by the Infidels and Enemies of Chriſt, that I might be crown'd with Chriſt?

* *Bed. lib. 2. cap. 6.*

'*Laurentius*, the Servant of Chriſt, being ſtirr'd up by the Whipping and Exhortation of the Bleſſed *Peter*, as ſoon as it was Morning went to the King, and putting aſide his Cloaths, ſhewed him with what Laſhes he had been torn. The King was amaz'd, and enquir'd who durſt inflict ſuch Stripes upon ſo Great a Man? So ſoon as he heard the Biſhop had ſuffer'd ſuch Blows and Tortures from an Apoſtle of Chriſt, as a Means of his Salvation, he was in a great Dread: So that re-

Chap. V. ‘ renouncing his Idolatrous Worship, and divorcing his unlawful Wife, he embrac'd the Faith ‘ of Christ, was Baptiz'd, and as far as he was ‘ able favour'd the Interest of the Church.

‘ He sent into *France*, and recalled *Mellitus* ‘ and *Justus*, commanding them to return and ‘ take Care of their Churches, from which they ‘ had now been a Year absent. *Justus* return'd ‘ to the City of *Rochester*, where he presided; ‘ but the *Londoners* would not receive their Bishop *Mellitus*, being more pleas'd in an Obedience to their Idolatrous Priests. For [*Eadbald*] had not so great an Authority when he ‘ reign'd as his Father [*Ethelbert*]; who was ‘ able to give a Bishop to the Church, tho' the ‘ *Pagans* were never so unwilling, and opposed ‘ him.

This is the Relation which is given of the Restoration of Christianity by the *Romish* Missionaries in *Kent:* In the next Place we have the Conversion of the West Countries by a New Apostle, sent from Pope *Honorius*, as follows:

* Bed. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 7. Ann. 635. ‘ *When King *Cynigil* Reign'd over the *West* ‘ *Saxons*, anciently call'd *Gevises*, they receiv'd ‘ the Faith of Christ. Bishop *Byrinus* preach'd ‘ the Gospel to them, by the Advice of Pope ‘ *Honorius*: He promised in the Presence of the ‘ Pope, that he would sow the Seeds of the Holy ‘ Faith in the inmost Countries of the *English*, ‘ where never yet any Teacher came. Upon ‘ which, by the Command of the Pope, he was ‘ consecrated to the Episcopal Degree by *Asterius* ‘ Bishop of *Genoa*. When he came into *Britain* ‘ his first Arrival was among the Nation of the ‘ *Gevises*, all whom he found most Paganish: ‘ He thought it therefore more requisite to

‘ preach

'preach the Word of God among them, than to go farther and ſeek out thoſe to whom he had undertaken to preach. Having done the Work of an Evangeliſt in this Province, and Inſtructed the King, he Baptiz'd him and his People. Chap. V.

'It then happen'd that *Oſwald*, the moſt Holy and Victorious King of the *Northumbrians*, was preſent, and took him out of the Font; by which it came to paſs that he Firſt received him for a Son, dedicated to God by a Second Birth, whoſe Daughter he was to marry, and thereby to enter into an Alliance worthy of the Divine Favour.

'Both the Kings gave the Biſhop that City which is call'd * *Dorcinca*, to make there an Epiſcopal See. After many Churches had been Built and Conſecrated, and much People Converted by his Labour, he left this World, and went to the Lord.

* Dorcheſter *in* Oxfordſhire. Camden.

'After him there came into this Province a Biſhop, *Agelbert* by Name, of the *French* Nation, but who had ſpent much Time in *Ireland* upon the Account of Reading the Scriptures. He waited upon [*Cenwalch*, who was then] the King, and of his own accord took upon himſelf the Miniſtry of Preaching. The King obſerving his Diligence and Learning, ask'd him to accept of the Epiſcopal See there, and to be the Biſhop of his Nation; which Requeſt he yielded to, and preſided over that Nation with the Sacerdotal Authority, for many Years.

'At length the King, who underſtood only the *Saxon* Language, being weary of a ſtrange Dialect, brought into the Province another Biſhop named *Wini*, who ſpake his own Tongue, and was Ordain'd in *France*. So that

'this

Chap. V.

'rhis Province was divided into Two Pariſhes
'or Biſhopricks; and he gave him an Epiſcopal
'See in the City *Venta*, which by the *Saxons*
* Winche- 'is called * *Vintaceſter*. *Agilbert* was ſo very
ſter *in* 'angry at this, that without ever conſulting the
Hantſhire. 'King, he return'd into *France*, there accepted
'of the Biſhoprick of *Paris*, and died an Old
'Man, and Full of Days.

We have ſeen all the Beginnings of the Chriſtian Religion in *England*, except thoſe of the *Eaſt Angles*, whoſe King, *Redwald*, was brought over to it, and Baptiz'd in *Kent*; but returning Home, did, by the Perſuaſions of his Wife, and ſome ill Inſtructors, fall again into Idolatry, or rather ſet up a *Samaritan* Mixture of the Worſhip of God and Devils. † 'His Son *Eorpwald*
† Bed. *lib.* 2. *caſ.* 15. 'did, by the Sollicitation of *Edwin*, King of the
'*Northumbrians*, become a Chriſtian; but ſoon
'after was murder'd by a *Pagan*, call'd *Richbert*;
'and then for Three Years the Province wan-
'der'd in Error, till *Sigebert*, the Brother of
'*Eorpwald*, a Man every Way moſt Chriſtian
'and Learned, took Poſſeſſion of the King-
'dom.

'Whilſt his Brother liv'd he was an Exile in
'*France*, where he was made Partaker of the
'Sacraments of Faith; and ſoon after he began
'to Reign he took Care that his whole Province
'might alſo partake of the ſame. Biſhop *Fe-*
'*lix*, who came out of *Burgundy*, (where
'he was Born and Ordain'd) moſt gloriouſly
'aſſiſted his Endeavours. When he came to
'Archbiſhop *Honorius*, and diſcover'd his De-
'ſires, he ſent him to preach the Word of Life
'to that Nation of the *Engliſh*. Nor were his
'Deſires in vain, for this Pious Husbandman of
'the Spiritual Field reap'd a manifold Increaſe

'of

'believing People: For he brought that whole 'Province, according to the Lucky Omen 'of his Name, into a Freedom from long 'Iniquity and Infelicity, to Faith, and the 'Works of Righteouſneſs, and the Gift of E-'ternal Felicity. He had the Seat of his E-'piſcopacy in the City * *Dommock*, where he 'retain'd the Government of the Province for 'Seventeen Years, and there ended his Life 'in Peace.

* Dunwhich *in* Suffolk.

There muſt needs be very great Differences in the *Engliſh* Nation about Religion, ſince One Part of it was Converted by thoſe that were of the Old Chriſtianity in *Britain*, and the other by the New Miſſionaries from *Rome*. Each of them had their particular Advantages and Diſadvantage, when they came to addreſs to the Heathen *Saxons:* The *Romaniſts* were not look'd upon as their Enemies, they came over as Friends to offer them Eternal Happineſs; and the Pageantry by which they endeavour'd to plant Religion, made the more glorious Appearance in the Eyes both of the Princes and People. But then the external Pomp did not ſo much convince the Judgment, did not make ſuch deep Impreſſions upon the Soul, as true Piety; and therefore the Nations, ſo made Chriſtians, were very apt to relapſe into Idolatry: On the other Hand, the *Britiſh* Chriſtians, who were driven out by the *Saxons*, were always look'd upon as their Enemies; but then they had a more ſolid Religion, and this by the Afflictions they then lay under; being not ſo much corrupted by the World, ſhone more bright and clear, and what it did perform, it did more ſincerely for the Service of God.

The

Chap. V. The Deſtruction of *Britain* by the *Saxons* was like *the great Perſecution againſt the Church at* Jeruſalem, *when the Chriſtians were all ſcatter'd abroad throughout the Regions of* Judea *and* Samaria. The *Britiſh* Chriſtians, who could not croud into *Wales*, fled into *Armorica* in the Eaſt, into *Ireland* in the Weſt, into *Scotland* in the North, and out of the Aſhes of their own Churches rais'd up new ones in Foreign Countries. There was a great deal of Time for this, at leaſt an Hundred an Fifty Years from the coming in of the *Saxons* till the Arrival of *Auſtin* the Monk. All this while they remain'd Heathens, and tho' prejudic'd againſt their Enemies, ſo that the *Britains* could not make their Addreſſes to them, yet theſe coming round about by *Ireland* and *Scotland*, (which Countries are originally beholding to them for their Converſions) they at laſt propagated Chriſtianity in *England* with happy Succeſs.

But this brings us to the great Conteſt between the *Romaniſts* and *Britiſh* Chriſtians; the moſt publick and bare-fac'd Controverſie was at *Auguſtines Ac*, or the *Oak of Auſtin*, where nothing would ſerve turn but Subjection to the Pope of *Rome*; this was utterly rejected with ſuch Scorn, that we do not find it ſo much as mention'd again for many Years. And this, at firſt Daſh, would very probably have been as reſolutely refus'd by the *Saxons* as the *Britains*; for no Nation cares for putting themſelves under a Foreign Yoke; and therefore the Myſtery of Iniquity went to work in a more hidden Way. They were not to own at firſt a Subjection to the Authority of *Rome*, but to lay aſide their Ancient

cient Cuſtoms, and to receive new ones, which were brought from thence. And whilſt the People had a great Zeal for their external Obſervations, with which Men are moſt affected, they did not doubt but their Doctrines might follow ſoon after. Hence it is that the great Controverſies then run about the Time of Keeping *Eaſter*, and the Form of their *Tonſures*: Not that theſe Things were of any great Importance in themſelves, but becauſe of their Conſequence: If they could but get them to alter any thing for the ſake of *Rome*, and bring ſo much as their Hair to be of the new Cut, the Way would be made eaſie for receiving of the *Papal* Authority. Chap. V.

We that live ſo many Ages from thoſe Times, may think it ſtrange that ſo great Aſſemblies ſhould be held, ſuch hot Diſputes maintain'd, and at laſt ſo great a Diviſion made, becauſe theſe Matters could not be adjuſted to every one's Liking; for after the Heat is over, we may think there was no ſufficient Cauſe to make ſo great a Stir. It was therefore neceſſary to premiſe what was at the Bottom of the Controverſie; and ſince at this Time it gave the great Turn by which the *Romaniſts* prevail'd over the *Britains*, it may be worth the while to give the Relation of it out of *Bede*, though ſomething longer than to deſerve our Conſideration, if the Weight of the Cauſe, rather than of the Reaſons here alledg'd, did not require it.

'* After the Death of *Finan*, who ſucceeded *Aidan*, when *Colman*, who was alſo ſent out *Scotland*, came to the Biſhoprick, the Controverſie about the Obſervation of *Eaſter*, * Bed. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 25.

Chap. V.

'*Easter*, and other Points of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, run high; ſo that many of the more timorous, not without Reaſon, began to be heartily concern'd, leſt haply having received the Word of Chriſtianity, *they ſhould run, or might have run in vain.*

'This came at laſt to the Ears of the Princes, King *Oſwi* and his Son *Alchfrid*; for *Oſwy* had been Inſtructed and Baptized by the *Scots*; he was alſo ſingularly well skill'd in their Language, and thought whatever they taught to be beſt. *Alchfrid* too had for his Tutor in the Chriſtian Literature one *Wilfrid*, a Man of great Learning, who had travell'd formerly to *Rome* for the Sake of Eccleſiaſtical Knowledge, and had made a long Stay with *Dalfin*, Archbiſhop of *Lions*, from whom alſo he had receiv'd the Crown of Eccleſiaſtical Tonſure. This Man's Learning he juſtly eſteem'd preferrable to all the Traditions of the *Scots*, inſomuch that he had given him a Monaſtery of Forty Families, in a Place call'd * *Hrypus*, which he had a little before beſtow'd upon thoſe that followed the *Scots*, to the ſame Purpoſe: But when they choſe rather to give it up than change their Cuſtoms, he gave it to him, who both for his Learning and Way of Life was very Worthy of ſuch a Place.

* Ripon *in* Yorkſhire.

'About that Time *Agilbert*, Biſhop of the *Weſt Saxons*, whom we have before ſpoken of, a Friend of King *Alchfrid* and the Abbot *Wilfrid*, came to the Province of *Northumberland*, and ſtai'd with them ſome Time: He, at the Requeſt of *Alchfrid*, made *Wilfrid* Presbyter in the aforeſaid Monaſtery; he alſo had with him a Presbyter nam'd *Agatho*.

'A

'A Diſpute then hapning about the Keeping Chap. V.
'of *Eaſter*, the *Tonſure*, and other Eccleſiaſtical
'Points, they reſolv'd upon the calling of a Sy-
'nod, in a Monaſtery call'd *Streaueſhalch*, which
'ſignifies the Bay of the * Watch-Tower, (over
'which the Abbeſs *Hilda*, a Woman devoted to
'God, then preſided) for the determining of
'this Queſtion.

* Whitby *in* York-ſhire.

'Both the Kings came thither, Father and
'Son; Biſhop *Colman*, and his Clergy, which
'were from *Scotland*; *Agilbert*, with the Preſ-
'byters *Agatho* and *Wilfrid*; *James* alſo, and
'*Roman*, were on the other Side; *Hilda*, with
'her People, was of the *Scotch* Party; the moſt
'Reverend Biſhop *Ced*, long before ordain'd by
'the *Scots*, (as has been ſaid) was in this Coun-
'cil the moſt careful Interpreter for both Par-
'ties.

'Firſt of all King *Oſwy* premis'd, That it was
'the Duty of thoſe who ſerve One God to have
'One Rule of Life; nor ſhould they diſagree in
'the Adminiſtration of the Heavenly Sacraments,
'who all expected one and the ſame Kingdom
'of Heaven: They ſhould enquire then which
'was the trueſt Tradition, and that this was to
'be follow'd by all. In the Firſt Place he com-
'manded his Biſhop *Colman* to declare what
'was the Cuſtom he maintain'd, and when it
'had its Original.

Then *Colman* ſaid, 'The *Eaſter* which I am
'wont to keep I receiv'd from my Anceſtors,
'who ſent me Biſhop hither; which all our Fa-
'thers, Men Beloved of God, are known to
'have obſerved after the ſame Manner. That
'this may not be deſpiſed or condemned by any,
''tis the very ſame *Eaſter* which we read St.
'*John* the Evangeliſt, a Diſciple more eſpecial-
'ly

Chap. V. 'ly Beloved by our Lord, with all those that 'govern'd the Churches, did observe. Having 'spoke these and such like Things, the King 'commanded *Agilbert* to declare before them 'the Manner of his Observation; whence it had 'its Beginning, and upon what Authority he 'relied. *Agilbert* answer'd, that he desir'd his 'Disciple, the Presbyter *Wilfrid*, might speak in 'his stead; because they Two, and the rest 'which sat with them, were all Observers of the 'same Ecclesiastical Tradition; and because he 'could better, and more manifestly explain their 'Sentiments in the *English* Tongue, than could 'be done by an Interpreter.

'Then *Wilfrid* the King commanding him 'to speak, thus began: The *Easter* (said he) 'which we keep we have seen at *Rome*, (where 'the Blessed Apostles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* liv'd, taught, suffer'd, and were buried) to be 'kept by all. This we have beheld universally 'observ'd in *Italy* and in *Gaul*, where we have 'travell'd, either for Learning or Devotion. This 'we find to be kept in one and the same, not 'a different Order of Time, through *Africa*, '*Asia*, *Egypt*, *Greece*, and all the World where-'ever the Church of Christ is spread; through 'the divers Nations and Languages, except 'these only, and the Accomplices of their Obsti-'nacy, the *Picts* and *Britains* I mean: For 'these who inhabit the Two furthermost Isles 'of the Ocean, and not all of them neither, to 'contend against the whole World, is a very 'foolish Attempt.

'When he had said this, *Colman* answered, '"Tis very strange that you should call our La-'bours foolish, wherein we follow the Example 'of so great an Apostle, who seem'd worthy to

'lean

'lean upon the Breaſt of our Lord; all the World knows with what Wiſdom he liv'd. Chap. V.

'*Wilfrid* replied, that 'twas far from his Intention to accuſe St. *John* of Folly, for obſerving the Law of *Moſes* according to the Letter; then in many Things the Church did Judaize, nor could the Apoſtles of a ſuddain caſt off the Obſervance of that Law, which had been inſtituted by God; as for Example, Images, which were invented by Devils, and muſt neceſſarily be laid aſide by all thoſe that are converted to the Faith. His Compliance was, that no Offence might be given to the *Jews*, who were among the Nations. Thus *Paul* circumcis'd *Timothy*, offer'd Sacrifices in the Temple, with *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* he ſhaved his Head at *Corinth:* There was nothing in all this, but to avoid the Offence of the *Jews*. Upon this Account *James* ſaid to *Paul*, * *Thou ſeeſt, Brother, how many Thouſands there are of Jews that believe, and they are all zealous of the Law.* But at this time of Day, now the Goſpel ſhines with ſuch Brightneſs through the World, it is not neceſſary, nay, it is not lawful, for thoſe that believe to be circumcis'd, and make their Offerings of Carnal Sacrifices to God. Therefore it was that *John* kept his *Eaſter* according to the Cuſtom of the Law, upon the Fourteenth Day of the Month, at Even, not regarding whether it was the Sabbath, or any other Day. But *Peter*, who Preach'd at *Rome*, being mindful that our Lord roſe from the Dead upon the Firſt Day of the Week, and ſo gave the World Hope of the Reſurrection, underſtood that *Eaſter* was to be obſerv'd after ſuch a manner, as according to the

* Act. 21. 21.

Chap. V. ‘Custom and Precept of the Law, he might al-
‘ways expect the rising of the Moon up-
‘on the Fourteenth Day of the First Month
‘till the Evening, as well as *John:* And when
‘it was risen, if the Lord's Day fell next Morn-
‘ing, (which was called the First of the *Sab-*
‘*bath*) he began to keep the *Easter* of our
‘Lord upon the very same Evening, as at this
‘Day we are all wont to do: But if the Lord's
‘Day did not follow the next Morning after
‘the Fourteenth Day of the Moon, but upon
‘the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, or any other Day
‘of the Moon till the Twenty-first, then he
‘waited for it, till the Sabbath going before;
‘he might upon that Evening begin to observe
‘the Holy Solemnities of *Easter*. Thus it fell
‘out that the *Easter* Lord's Day could be kept
‘only from the Fifteenth Day of the Moon to
‘the Twenty-first.

‘This Evangelical and Apostolical Tradition
‘does not destroy, but rather fulfils, the Law, for
‘thereby *Easter* is to be observ'd from the 14th
‘Day of the First Month at Even, to the 21st of
‘the same Month at Even. By which Observa-
‘tion we imitate all the Successors of St. *John* in
‘*Asia* after his Death, and the Church all over
‘the World. That this is the true *Easter* to be ob-
‘serv'd by all the Faithful was confirmed by
‘the *Nicene* Council, not newly decreed there
‘as we learn from Ecclesiastical History.

‘Hence, *Colman*, 'tis evident that you do not,
‘as you pretend, follow the Example of *John*
‘nor of *Peter*, whose Tradition you knowingly
‘contradict: You agree neither with the Law
‘nor the Gospel in keeping your *Easter*. For
‘*John* observing the *Paschal* Time, according
‘to the Decrees of the *Mosaical* Law, did not
‘regard

'regard the First Day of the Week; which Chap. V.
'you do not follow, who do not celebrate *Ea-*
'*ster*, except it be upon the First Day; *Peter*
'takes the *Easter* Lord's-Day from the 15th to
'the 21st, which you don't do, who will have
'it from the 14th to the 20th; so that up-
'on the 13th Day at Even your *Easter* often
'begins, which the Law makes no Mention of,
'nor the Lord, who is the Author and Giver of
'the Gospel, who either eat the old *Passover*
'upon the 14th at Even, or deliver'd the Sa-
'craments of the New-Testament, to be obser-
'ved by the Church in Remembrance of his
'Passion. Nay, and further, you utterly dis-
'card the 21st Day, which the Law chiefly
'recommends to be observ'd, from your Cele-
'bration of *Easter*. Thus, as I have said, in
'keeping the chief Festival you neither agree
'with *John* nor *Peter*; neither with the Law,
'nor with the Gospel. To these Things *Colman*
'replied, Did that Holy Man *Anatolius*, so
'highly recommended in Ecclesiastical History,
'judge contrary to the Law, and the Gospel,
'who wrote that *Easter* was to be kept from
'the 14th to the 20th? Did our most Reverend
'Father *Columba* and his Successors, Men Be-
'loved by God, who kept *Easter* as we do, ei-
'ther understand or act contrary to that which
'is reveal'd in the Divine Pages? 'Tis not cre-
'dible. There are many of them, to whose
'Sanctity Heavenly Signs, and the Miracles
'they did, bore Witness: Not doubting but
'that these were Holy Men, I cannot desist from
'always following their Life, Manners and
'Discipline.

'But, says *Wilfrid*, I confess that *Anatolius*
'was most Holy, most Learned, most Deserving

Chap. V.

'of the highest Esteem: But what have you 'to do with him, whose Decrees you do not 'observe? For he in keeping his *Easter* laid 'down the Circle of 19 Years, which you are 'either ignorant of, or being known and ob- 'serv'd by all the Church of Christ, you make 'nothing of. He so computed the 14th Day, 'as to the Lord's-Day in *Easter*, that it might be 'confess'd, after the manner of the *Egyptians*, 'to be the 15th Day at Even. So he observ'd 'the 20th for the Lord's-Day of *Easter*, that 'the same Day declining, you might believe it 'to be the 21st. The Rule of which Distin- 'ction this is enough to prove you ignorant of, 'that oftentimes you most manifestly keep *Ea- 'ster* before the Full Noon, that is, upon the '13th Day.

'As to your Father *Columba* and his Followers, 'whose Holiness you declare you will imitate, 'and whose Rule and Precepts, confirm'd by 'Heavenly Signs, you will follow, I may return 'this Answer: * *Many will say to the Lord* * Mat. 7. 22, 23. '*in the Day of Judgment, Have we not pro- 'phesied in thy Name, cast out Devils, and 'done many mighty Works? The Lord shall an- 'swer, I never knew you.* But far be it from 'me that I should speak this of your Fathers; 'tis much more just to believe well than ill 'of those that are unknown to us: So that I 'do not deny them to have been the Beloved 'Servants of God, who lov'd him with a Pious 'Intention, though a Rustical Simplicity. Nor 'do I think that such an Observance of *Easter* 'was very prejudicial to them, for none came 'amongst them who could discover the Decrees 'of a more perfect Institution, which they might 'have follow'd. And I do believe that if any

'Ca-

'Catholick Calculator had come among them, Chap. V.
'they would have follow'd his Admonitions,
'as they did approve of thoſe Things which
'they had learn, and knew to be the Com-
'mandments of God. But for you and your
'Companions, if you refuſe to follow the De-
'crees of the Apoſtolick See, which you have
'heard, even thoſe of the Univerſal Church,
'and which are confirm'd by the Holy Scrip-
'tures, without all doubt you ſin. For though
'your Fathers were Holy Men, ſhall their Pau-
'city from the Corner of the moſt remote
'Iſland be preferr'd before the Church of Chriſt,
'which is ſpread over the whole World?
'Though your *Columba* was a Holy Man, and
'Powerful in his Gifts, (and indeed our *Co-*
'*lumba*, if he was Chriſt's) yet can he be pre-
'ferr'd before the moſt Bleſſed Prince of the
'Apoſtles? To whom the Lord ſaid,* *Thou art* * Mat. 16.
'Peter, *and upon this Rock will I build my* 18, 19.
'*Church, and the Gates of Hell ſhall not pre-*
'*vail againſt it: And I will give unto thee the*
'*Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.*

'*Wilfrid* urging theſe Things, the King ſaid,
'Was this, *Colman*, truly ſpoken by our Lord
'to *Peter*? Who anſwer'd, True, O King. He
'replied, Can you ſet forth any thing of ſo
'great Power committed to your *Columba*?
'He ſaid, Nothing. The King ask'd them a-
'gain, Are you both agreed as to this, with-
'out any Controverſie, that theſe Things were
'principally ſpoken to *Peter*, and that to him
'*the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* were given
'by our Lord. They both anſwer'd, Yes.
'Then he thus concluded, I ſay to you, becauſe
'he is the Door-keeper I will not contradict
'him: But in as much as I know, and am a-

Chap. V.

'ble, I desire to be obedient to all his Appoint-
'ments, lest when I come to the Gates of the
'Kingdom of Heaven there should be none
'to unlock them for me, if he be against me,
'who is prov'd to have the Keys. The King
'declaring this, all the Assembly assented to it,
'both those of higher and of meaner Quali-
'ty: So that casting off the less perfect Insti-
'tution, they made haste to embrace those Things
'which they knew to be better.

* Bed. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 26.

* 'The Disputation being ended, and the As-
'sembly dissolv'd, *Agilbert* return'd home. *Col-*
'man seeing his Doctrine despis'd, and his Par-
'ty contemn'd, took those that were willing
'to follow him, that is, those who would not
'receive the Catholick *Easter*, and the *Ton-*
'sure of the Crown, (for concerning this there
'was no small Dispute) and return'd to *Scot-*
'land, consulting with them what was best to
'be done. *Ced* leaving the Ways of the *Scots*,
'return'd to his own See, and approved the
'Observation of the Catholick *Easter*. This
'Dispute was held in the Year of our Lord's
'Incarnation 664, to the 22d of King *Oswi*, and
'the 30th of the Episcopacy of the *Scots*, which
'they enjoy'd in *England*. *Aidan* being Bishop
'17 Years, *Finan* 10, and *Colman* 3.

Many a Disputation is turn'd off the Hinges by that which is very little to the Purpose; for when the Judgment is tired, then any thing that strikes the Phansie prevails. Thus King *Oswald* was carried away with a Notion that St. *Peter* was literally a Porter, and that he lay at his Mercy whether he should be ever able to enter into Heaven; because this gave so great a Turn to the *English* Nation, that it was thereby entirely brought to a Subjection to *Rome*, and many

* are

are not ſtill able to ſee through the Miſt; I will therefore give an Account of St. *Peter*'s Keys from the Reverend Biſhop *Patrick*. Chap. V.

* 'The Power which theſe Words, [*I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*] import, was not beſtow'd upon St. *Peter* alone, (as they of the *Roman* Church imagine) but what Chriſt here ſpake to him, as the Prime Apoſtle, he intended unto all the reſt. * *Dignity of the Chriſtian Prieſthood*, pag. 4.

'This is manifeſt, by comparing Three Places in the Goſpel together, which ſpeak of this Power. For what is here ſaid of it by Way of Prediction or Promiſe, that he would confer it, is a little after ſpoken of by Way of Deſcription and Explication of the Nature of this Power, and the Manner of uſing it, as you may ſee *Mat.* 18. 15, to 21. where *V.* 18. he ſpeaks in the Plural Number, *Whatſoever ye ſhall bind on Earth ſhall be bound in Heaven, and whatſoever ye ſhall looſe on Earth, ſhall be looſed in Heaven.* Which is the very ſame Power, and in the ſame Words, promiſed here to St. *Peter*, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven; and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on Earth, ſhall be looſed in Heaven.*

'And then in a third Place, when this Power is actually conferr'd upon them, they are all inveſted with it, after our Saviour's Reſurrection, but before his Aſcenſion. *John* 20. 22, 23. where he doth not ſay, λάβε, *Receive thou*, as if he ſpake to one alone; but λάβετε, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt. Whoſeſoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted to them; and whoſeſoever Sins ye retain, they are retained:*

Chap V. 'Which it is evident was ſpoken to every one 'of them.

Whatever Reaſon there was for a Victory, the Triumph muſt be carried on: *Wilfred*, the Grand Diſputant, is preferr'd, and made a Biſhop, for baffling *Colman*.

¥ Sax. An. *' *Ann.* 664. *Colman*, with his Companions, 'went to his own Nation, *Ceadda* and *Wilfred* 'are Conſecrated. But then great Care is had that they might not receive their Ordination from thoſe that would not acknowledge the Authority of *Rome*; though it could hardly be done, the whole *Engliſh* Nation being then almoſt entirely in the Hands of thoſe who had receiv'd their Religion from the *Britiſh* Chriſtians, according to the Account we find of it by one who was none of their Friends.

Bede, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 28. 'King *Alchfrid* [the Son of King *Oſwi*] ſent '*Wilfred* the Presbyter to the King of *France*, 'who got him Conſecrated: He ſent him to '*Agilbert*, who leaving *Britain*, was made Biſhop of *Paris*. Whilſt [*Wilfred*] tarried beyond Sea, *Oſwi* ſent *Ceadda* into *Kent* to be Ordain'd Biſhop of *York*, who coming thither 'found Archbiſhop *Deus-dedit* dead; ſo he 'went into *Weſt-Saxony* to Biſhop *Wine*, and 'he, to aſſiſt him in the Ordination, took Two '*Britiſh* Biſhops, who kept the Lord's-Day '*Eaſter* contrary to the Canonical Cuſtom, 'from the 14th to the 20th Day of the Moon. 'For except *Wine* himſelf there was not One 'Biſhop in all *Britain* Canonically Ordain'd. '*Wilfred* alſo being made a Biſhop, came into '*Britain*, and by his Doctrine promoted many 'Catholick Obſervations in the Churches of 'the *Engliſh*. Whereby it came to paſs that 'the Catholick Inſtitution every Day encreaſing

'ſing, the *Scots*, who remain'd among the *En-* Chap. V.
'*liſh*, either yeilded, or withdrew into their
'own Country.

Though *Wilfred* was for Three Years put by from his Preferment by *Ceadda*, Biſhop of *York*, yet he got him laid aſide, and mounted into his Seat. For we read, 'that* *Ceadda* leading a 'quiet Life in a Monaſtery, *Wilfred* managed 'the Biſhoprick of the Church of *York*, not only 'of all the *Northumbrians*, but alſo of all the *Picts*, 'as far as the Dominion of King *Oſwi* extended.

* Bed. *lib.* 4. *cap.*

How *Ceadda* came to be put in before *Wilfred* we have an Account from another Author. *'Whilſt he delay'd his Return [from *France*], 'ſome envying that Victory which the Bleſſed '*Wilfred* obtain'd over *Colman*, perſwaded King '*Oſwi* that he would make another Biſhop be 'Conſecrated in his Place. By whoſe Council, 'the King being infatuated, call'd *Cedda*, Ab-'bot of *Leſtingham*, and ſent him to *Kent* for 'Ordination.

* Richard Hagulſt. de Epiſc. Hagulſt. *cap.* 6.

It is evident that even after the Victorious Diſpute there remain'd ſo great a Party diſſatisfied, that they prevailed upon even the Converted *Oſwi* to forſake his *Wilfred*. But we no Writers in Favour of the *Britiſh* Chriſtians, and therefore we can only take from their Adverſaries an Account of thoſe Stirs which the *Romiſh* Uſurpations cauſed.

*'Four Years after *Theodore* [a *Roman* Monk] 'being Conſecrated by Pope *Vitalian* to the Arch-'biſhoprick of *Canterbury*, came into *England*, 'by whoſe Command, the ſame Year, *Cedda* 'was depos'd from his Biſhoprick, the Holy '*Wilfred* became Biſhop of all the *Northumbrians*.

* Ibid.

Venerable *Bede* thinks he may honeſtly conceal the Faults of ſo great a Man, and therefore only

Chap. V.

only tells us, that after his Advancement King *Oswi* was so charm'd with his Conversation *, that he would lift him upon Horseback with his own Hand, when *Theodore* had advis'd him to ride about for the Visitation of his Diocess, which was so very large.

* Bed. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 3.

But for all his *Roman* Zeal, and Meritorious Victory over the Old *Christians*, *Theodore* saw it necessary to depose him. [*Alchfrid*, King of *Northumberland*,] not daring to turn Bishop *Wilfred* out of his See, without the Consent of Archbishop *Theodore*, commanded the Archbishop to come to him: Who hearing the Causes which his Accusers had feign'd against him, expell'd him from his Bishoprick *Ann.* 678. But in the Second Year of *Alfrid*, who Reign'd after his Brother *Egfrid*, he receiv'd his Bishoprick again. At last, after Five Years, he was accused by the King and many Bishops, and depriv'd of his Prelacy.

*Sim. Dunel. *pag.* 78.

Notwithstanding he was so much the Darling of the Monks, yet *William* of *Malmesbury* has wrote such an Account of him as may give us the True Cause of his Sufferings.

'* The Queen stirr'd up Envy against the Bishop that he had so many Abbots and Abbies, that he made himself be serv'd in Gold and Silver Plate; that he was proud in a shining Dress, and walk'd with a great Croud of Retainers. This Envious Report came to *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who suffering the Vigour of his Mind to be softned with Presents, immediately, without consulting *Wilfred*, brought Three Bishops of another Country into his Diocess. They pretended there was good Cause for it, since Three Bishops might be main-

* Gest. Pontif. *lib.* 3. de Archiep. Eber.

'maintain'd with that which make One ſo 'proud; and beſides, that the Revenue allow'd 'it, the Circuit of the Dioceſs was ſufficient for 'Four Biſhops. Chap. V.

This was agreeable to what was lately decreed in the Council of *Hertford*, held by the ſame Archbiſhop *Theodore* Ann. 673, *Ut plures Epiſcopi creſcente numero fidelium augerentur:* That there ſhould be more Biſhops as the Number of the Faithful encreas'd. Whatever the Cauſe was, *Wilfred* would not ſet down either by the Determination of the King or the Archbiſhop, but away he goes to *Rome*, and makes his Appeal to the Pope. He was the beginning of *England*'s Slavery, which continued for ſo many Ages, whereby both the Church and Kingdom became ſubject to a Foreign Power. Spelm. Concil.

* Pope *Agatho* was extremely pleas'd at this, calls a Council of 50 Biſhops and Abbots, and reſtores him to his Biſhoprick. But notwithſtanding the many and long Turmoils this unquiet Prelate made, the Pope's Authority in *England* was not yet fledged enough to give him the Enjoyment of what he aim'd at. * Spel. Concil. ad An. 680.

Such were the Beginnings, and ſuch the Succeſs of the *Romaniſts* in *England:* When they brought Chriſtianity to this Nation, they oppos'd that which was much more truly the Religion which our Bleſſed Saviour revealed to Men; they took Methods quite contrary to his Apoſtles, and inſtead of Planting, Deſtroy'd his Church. The Number of good Chriſtians who were forc'd to quit the Nation upon their Arrival here is an undeniable Proof of this.

Archbiſhop *Uſher* gives us an Account of a much greater Diſturbance that this Diſputation

Chap. V. tation made in *England*; for though it was held in *Yorkſhire* to ſatisfie the *Northumbrians*, yet it ſeems the Effects of it reach'd as far as *Wincheſter*; which ſhews that the Numbers of thoſe who oppos'd the *Romiſh* Uſurpations were very conſiderable, and diſpers'd over the whole Nation.

* Uſher *Prim.* pag. 1164.

* 'The Aſſembly being diſſolv'd *Colman* gather-'ing together thoſe *Scots* which were in the 'Iſland of *Lindisfarn*, and about 30 Monks of the '*Engliſh* Nation, Sail'd into his own Country '*Ireland*, and there Built a Monaſtery for them 'in the Iſle of *Inis-boſind*, or the *White Calf*. '*Gerald*, Abbot of *Wincheſter*, is ſaid to have 'followed him, with his Three Brothers, and 'Three Thouſand Men; for whom, the Writer 'of his Life relates, that he Built a Monaſtery 'in *Connaugh*, named *Elitheria*, or the *Hart*.

After this the *Romiſh* Party went on Smoothly, and with great Applauſe: Their Inſinuations in the Courts of Princes were ſo prevalent, that they did not only admire the Grandeur of the *Papacy*, but laid down their Crowns, that they might go and ſee the Eccleſiaſtical Monarch, and receive his Benediction before they died. *Bede* gives us ſeveral Inſtances of this Devotion.

* Bed. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 7.

* '*Ceadwalla*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, when 'he powerfully govern'd his Nation for Two 'Years, reſigning his own Kingdom for the 'Lord and his Perpetual Kingdom, came to '*Rome*, deſiring to obtain this ſingular Glory, 'that he might be waſh'd in the Fountain of 'Baptiſm at the Threſhold of the Bleſſed Apo-'ſtles; in which alone he had learn'd that the 'Entrance into the Heavenly Life lay open to 'Mankind.

'*Cead-*

'*Ceadwalla* going to *Rome*, *Ina*, of the Royal Race, ſucceeded in the Kingdom; who when he had held the Empire of his Nation 32 Years, relinquiſhing his Kingdom, and recommending it to thoſe that were younger, went to the Threſhold of the Bleſſed Apoſtles, *Gregory* then holding the Pontificate. He deſired in the Neighbourhood of thoſe Holy Places to be a Pilgrim for a time upon Earth, whereby he might merit to be received more familiarly by the Saints in Heaven, which in theſe Days many of the *Engliſh* Nation, Noble and Ignoble, Clergy and Laity, Men and Women, are wont to do with great Emulation. Chap. V.

This Sort of Devotion ſo much encreaſed in a few Years more, that the Kings did not only reſign their Crowns, and go to *Rome*, but were ſhavd, and became Monks, as *Bede* further informs us.

'* *Kenred*, who for ſome time had nobly go- vern'd the Kingdom of *Mercia*, more nobly forſook the Scepter of his Kingdom; for he came to *Rome*, was there ſhaven, under the Pontificate of *Conſtantine*, and being made a Monk at the Threſhold of the Apoſtles, continued in Prayers, Faſting and Almſdeeds, to the Day of his Death. * Bed. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 20.

'With him alſo came *Offa*, Son of *Sigher*, King of the *Eaſt Saxons*, a Prince of moſt lovely Age and Grace, moſt deſir'd by all his Nation to hold the Scepter of their Kingdom. Who being led with the like Devotion, forſook his Wife, his Lands, his Kindred, his Country, for Chriſt, and for that Goſpel, which ſaid, * *He might receive an Hundred-fold in this Life, and in the World to come Life eternal.* * Mat. 19. 29.

Thus

Chap. V. Thus whilst those that dwelt upon the Earth wondred at the Glorious Mysteries of *Rome*, Power was given to the exalted Pontiff over all Kindreds, and Tongues, and Nations: Even * *the Kings had one Mind, and gave their Power to the Beast.* But yet this was not done without some Reluctance; Princes, who were the Ordinances of God, would be often struggling to maintain the Authority which he had given them: And many Bishops would claim a Divine Right to take Care of those People whom Christ had committed to their Charge. Insomuch that the Usurpations of *Rome* did not prevail without great Violence, and the Ancient National Church must be utterly overthrown before the new Synagogue could be rais'd.

*Rev. 17. 13.

There was one Attempt made by a great Prince so to settle the Church in his Dominions that it might be managed in the Old Way; and the Pope was so ready to flatter the most potent that he yielded to it: But the Partizans of *Rome* presently made such an horrible Outcry that the new Settlement lasted but a very little while. The *Saxon* Annals give us this short Account of it.

*Sax. Ann. ‘ * *An. Dom.* 785. This Year was the Litigious ‘ Synod at *Cealchyth*, and Archbishop *Janbert* ‘ lost some Part of his Province. Also by King ‘ *Offa Higebert* was chosen, and *Egfert* Conse- ‘ crated King. Also at this time Legates were ‘ sent from *Rome* by Pope *Adrian* into *England*, ‘ to renew that Faith and Peace which St. *Gregory* ‘ had sent to us by Bishop *Austin*, who were ‘ receiv'd with Honour.

King *Offa*'s Design was that his Kingdom of ‘ *Mercia* might be a National Church, and that ‘ his Bishops might not be obliged to run to the ‘ Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Subject of ano- ‘ther

'ther Prince, for their Ordination; he raiſes 'Litchfield, the Metropolis of his Kingdom, in- 'to an Archbiſhop's See. How this was brought to paſs, and what Suffragans belong'd to it, we may learn from the Monk of *Malmesbury*, whoſe Relation is enough to make us under- ſtand that the *Romiſh* Intereſt eſteem'd the Foundation of the Church at *Canterbury* by *Auſtin*, the Miſſionary of Pope *Gregory*, to be that which ſupported the Merits of their Cauſe. Chap. V.

'* *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, obſtinate a- 'gainſt God, endeavour'd to transfer the Seat 'of the Archbiſhoprick, heretofore Founded at 'Canterbury, to *Litchfield*. Accordingly he at 'length depriv'd Archbiſhop *Lambert*, tired 'with many Labours, and producing Ancient and 'New decrees of all the Lands which lay with- 'in his Territories, and the Juriſdiction of Bi- 'ſhopricks. He obtain'd by the Apoſtolick *A- 'drian*, whom he had long wearied with the 'Pretences of his Aſſertions (as many unlawful 'Things may be ſurreptitiouſly gotten from 'thoſe who are much encumbred with Buſi- 'neſs) that the Archbiſhoprick of the *Mercians* 'ſhould be at *Litchfield*, and all the Biſhops of 'the *Mercians* ſhould be ſubject to that Province, 'whoſe Names are

* Malm. Geſt. Reg. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.

'*Denebert*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*.
'*Werenbert*, Biſhop of *Leiceſter*.
'*Eadulph*, Biſhop of *Sidnaceſter*.
'*Wulpherd* of *Hereford*.

'And the Biſhops of the *Eaſt Angles*.

'*Alhard* of *Elmham*.
'*Tidfrid* of *Dunwich*.

'But *Aldalph* was called Biſhop of *Litchfield*, 'and Four Biſhops remain'd to *Lambert*, Arch- 'biſhop of *Canterbury*.

'Lon-

Chap. V.

'*London*, *Wincheſter*, *Rocheſter*, and *Shirburn*. 'Some of theſe Biſhopricks ſtill continue, 'ſome are tranſlated to other Places, ſome by 'Ambitious Purchaſing are united to others. For '*Leiceſter*, *Sidnaceſter*, and *Dunwich*, are not 'at this Day to be found, though it be uncertain 'how it came to paſs.

'Nor was the Rapacity of *Offa* ſatisfied, as 'a Publick Robber he took away the Farms of 'many Churches, among others thoſe of *Malmeſ-* '*bury*. But his Iniquity did not long violate 'the Canonical Rules; for ſoon after *Kenulph*, 'the Succeſſor of *Offa*, who came ſhort of no 'King before him in Power or Religion, ſending 'his Letters to *Leo*, the Succeſſor of *Adrian*, 'raiſed *Athelard*, the Succeſſor of *Lambert*, to 'the former Dignity.

The Legate, who were ſo honourably receiv'd were *George*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and *Theophylact*, Biſhop of *Todi* in *Italy*. They aſſert, that no Legate beſides themſelves had been ſent hither ſince the Time of *Auſtin*: '* *Quia, ut* '*ſcitis, à tempore ſancti Auguſtini Pontificis,* '*Sacerdos Romanus nullus illuc miſſus eſt, niſi* '*nos*. They and their Company divided themſelves into Two Parts. *Theophylact*, (after they had together waited upon *Offa*, King of *Mercia* and *Kinulph*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*) went into *Mercia*, and the Parts of the *Britains*, to a Place called *Calchuth* or *Cealtide*; which muſt accommodate both the *Mercians*, *Weſt Saxons* and *Britains*. The Signification of the Word implies, that it was an Harbour, to which Ships came up, very probably upon the *Severn*. Wherein they followed the Example of *Auſtin*, their only Predeceſſor; and by chuſing a Place, as

* Spelm. Concil. Calchuth. Ann. 787.

as he did, near the Confines of the *Britains*, they might hope by a ſecond Attempt to have ſome better Succeſs upon them. Chap. VI

George, with the Biſhop of *Autun* in *France*, (as we find by the Subſcriptions to this Council) goes into *Northumberland* to King **Oſwald*, and *Eanbald*, Archbiſhop of the Holy Church of the City of *York*. And becauſe the King reſided far off in the Northern Parts, the Archbiſhop ſent Meſſengers to him, who preſently appointed a Day for the Council, to which all the Chief Men of the Country, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, came. * Alfwald,

The Subſcriptions to this Council will inform us how far the Dioceſe of *Northumberland* extended into the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and are as follows.

'*Alfwald*, King of the *Tranſhumbrane* Na-
'tion.

'*Dilberch*, Prelate of the *Auguſtadenſian*
'Church.

'*Eanbald*, by the Grace of God Archbiſhop
'of the Church of *York*.

'*Higwald*, Biſhop of the Church of *Lindiſ-*
:farn.

'*Ethelbert*, Biſhop of *Candida caſa*, [or *Gal-*
'*loway*.]

'*Ardulph*, Biſhop of the *Mylenſian* Church,
'[or *Murthlake*].

'Biſhop *Ethelwine*, who ſubſcrib'd by Proxy.

We finding here a Foreigner, Biſhop *Bilberch*, ſubſcribing to this Council in *Northumberland*, may unriddle the ſubſcribing of ſo many Biſhops, whoſe Names and Sees are both unknown to the Council of *Calcuth*: They were very probably the Names of thoſe whom the

Chap. V. Legates brought with them from other Parts of the World.

By the devout Subjection of the *Engliſh* Princes to the Papal Sovereignty there was but little need to ſend more Legates from the See of *Rome:* The Church was put into ſuch a Condition here, that all the Corruptions which flow'd from thence might be readily embrac'd without the Trouble of Foreign Help. This was done by the Prevalence of the Monks, who were an Order of Men ſet up, looſe from the Directions of the Epiſcopal Government, and entirely depending upon the *Pope:* They were ſure to be his Friends, becauſe their whole Eſteem and Buſineſs conſiſted in thoſe Superſtitions which were newly invented at *Rome*; and by their Exemptions from their Biſhop's Juriſdiction they were at Liberty to purſue any thing they thought fit to attempt.

To make Monkery predominant over all, it was thought fit that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who has the Chief Management of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in *England*, ſhould always be a Monk. To this purpoſe ſuch were uſually choſen; but if any other was to be put in the Place, he muſt know that it was neceſſary for him firſt to be made a Monk, or elſe to avoid the Preferment. Of this we have a convincing Example in Archbiſhop *Odo*.

* Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cant. in Odon. *pag.* 1644.

'*Odo*, Biſhop of *Schirburn*, was Elected. But 'being in the Clerical Habit when he was cho- 'ſen, began reſolutely to ſtruggle againſt it, leſt 'by his Ambition the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, 'who had gone before him in that See, ſhould 'ſeem to be violated. For to that time there 'had been no Archbiſhop of the Church of '*Can-*

'*Canterbury*, but ſuch an one as had worn the Monkiſh Frock. For in theſe Days it was not 'thought Honeſt, and Conſonant to Reaſon, that 'a Secular Clergyman ſhould preſide over the 'Regular Monks, ſince from the time of the 'Bleſſed *Auſtin*, by the Inſtitution of St. *Gre-* '*gory*, that ſame Church of *Canterbury* always 'belong'd to the Monks. When he was no 'longer able to withſtand the Conſtancy, and 'with his Reaſons to ſoften the Reſolutions 'of the King and Kingdom, of the Clergy and 'People, [who deſir'd him to be their Archbi-'ſhop] he ſent Meſſengers to *Floriacum* [*Fleury* 'in *Burgundy*] where at that time the Religion 'of the Monks was reputed to be moſt Holy. 'The Abbot upon this Occaſion came over into '*England*, by whom he was inveſted with the Ha-'bit, and inſtructed in the Manners of a Monk, 'and ſo to the Joy of all was made Archbiſhop of '*Canterbury*, receiving his Pall from Pope *Aga-* '*petus*. Chap. V.

As Care was taken that the Archbiſhoprick ſhould never want a Monk, ſo this Monk was never to want Authority, but always to be above an Archbiſhop; which was, that by his Place, 'not by Commiſſion, he ſhould be inveſted 'with the *Legatine* Power; ſo that he might 'well be eſteem'd *Pope* of the *Engliſh* Nation. 'This was claim'd by *Simon Sudbury*, Archbi-'ſhop of *Canterbury*, in his Appeal to Pope *Ur-* '*ban*, as appears by his Letter to the Biſhop of '*Wincheſter*, * *Urban*, &c. to our Reverend Bro-'ther the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Health and Apo-'ſtolical Benediction. The Petition of our Reve-'rend Brother *Simon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 'exhibited to us, contains, that the Archbiſhop of '*Canterbury*, for the Time being, in the City, Dio-

* Chron. W. Thorn. pag. 2155.

Chap. V. 'ceſe and Province of *Canterbury*, is Born Legate 'of the Apoſtolick See: *Legatus Natus*, as well 'by Right, as by Ancient approv'd, and unin-'terrupted Cuſtom, *&c.* This was written upon the Occaſion of a Conteſt between him and the Monks of St. *Auſtin*'s without thr Walls of *Canterbury*; but they being both Dear Friends, and no Seculars concern'd in the Controverſie, was thought fit to let it drop in this Caſe without a Deciſion.

The Chief Government of the Church being thus tied faſt to the *Pope*'s Chair, the *Romiſh* Party were in the next Place to ſecure themſelves, that the reſt of the Clergy did not thwart their Deſigns: The *Papacy* could never prevail till the Apoſtolical Authority of Biſhops was overthrown to make One Apoſtolick See at *Rome*; and then they were afraid, leſt any Preſbyters ſhould be left, who would ſtand up for the *Engliſh* Church and Nation. So that their next great Buſineſs was to ruin all the Clergy, who did not live by their Superſtitions, or were particularly concern'd for the Good of their Country; theſe were the Married Clergy; firſt, thoſe that reſided in the Biſhop's Cathedral, who aſſiſted him in the Government of the Church, according the Primitive Conſtitution, or ſuch as were planted in Pariſhes, as Guides to the People.

Sometimes the Princes, either for Religion or Intereſt, would favour theſe; and then however Glorious and Vertuous they were, the Monks would cry down ſuch Kings as Obſtinate againſt God, Enemies to the Church, Robbers and Spoilers of all that was Sacred. This is ſo conſtantly and certainly to be found in our *Engliſh* Hiſtories, where the Lives and Reputa-

tion

tion of our Kings are moſt horribly mangled, that if we do not continually conſider this Biaſs, we ſhall never be able to make any tolerable Judgment of the Truth. King *Offa* was undoubtedly a great Prince; and being Founder of the Rich Abbey of St. *Albans*, could not be wanting in his Munificence to the Church: But becauſe he would ſet up an Archbiſhoprick in his own Kingdom, to the Prejudice of *Auſtin*'s Succeſſors, and diſpoſe of thoſe Revenues of *Malmesburg*, which lay in his own Dominions, (though it be not ſaid to any Secular Uſe) therefore he muſt be repreſented as a moſt irreligious Tyrant, and all the worſt Things be written of him that Malice could ſuggeſt. Chap. V.

We have a great Example of this alſo in the Lives of thoſe Two Brothers, King *Edwin* and King *Edgar*; but the Foundation of the Partiality we find in the *Saxon* Annals.

'*Ann. Dom.* 955, *Eadwig*, [or *Edwin*] the Son 'of King *Edmund*, and St. *Algiva*, took upon him 'the Kingdom: But he made St. *Dunſtan* fly 'his Country. * Sax. An.

'*Ann. Dom.* 957, This Year King *Eadwig* di'ed upon the Firſt of *October*, and his Brother '*Edgar* took upon him the Kingdom in *Weſt* '*Saxony*, *Mercia* and *Northumberland*. He re'call'd St. *Dunſtan*, gave him the Biſhoprick of '*Worceſter*, and afterwards of *London*.

Accordingly againſt the firſt of theſe the Monks exhauſt their Venom, but the laſt they make to be a Glorious Saint, tho' he began his Reign by a Rebellion, and continued it in a Courſe of Debauchery, according to their own Account.

But there was great Reaſon why they ſhould be ſo fond of St. *Edgar* and St. *Dunſtan*. * St. * Sax. An. *Edgar* 961.

Chap. V. *Edgar* made St. *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Athelwold* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald*, Bishop of *Worcester*. This was the Triumverate that ruin'd the Married Clergy. They began with the Chapters of Cathedrals; to which Purpose the Famous Constitution was made call'd *Oswald*'s Law, because it first took Place in his Church at *Worcester*. The Preface indeed acknowledges the Divine Goodness, but with such an Elation of Mind, as it is evident he could endure nothing but the Pompous Superstitions of *Rome*, which were the whole Business of the Monastick Profession.

*Spel. Concil. ad An. 964.

'* *The Charter of* Edgar, *King of the* English, *call'd* Oswald's *Law, for ejecting the Married Clergy, and introducing Monks.*

'BY the Bountiful Clemency of God thundering on high, who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, I *Edgar*, King [*Basileus*] of the *English*, Emperor and Lord of all the Islands of the Ocean which lye about *Britain*, and of all the Nations which are included within it, render Thanks to that Almighty God, my King, who has so amplified my Empire, and raised it above the Kingdom of my Fathers; who, though they had obtain'd the Monarchy of all *England* from the time of *Athelstan*, who first by his Arms Subdued all those Nations which inhabit *Britain*, yet none of them attempted to enlarge his Empire beyond the Bounds of it. But to me the Propitious Deity has granted, with the Empire of the *English*, to Subdue all the Kingdoms of the Isles of the Ocean, with their fiercest Kings, as far as *Norway*; and the greatest Part of *Ire-*

'*Ireland*, with its moſt Noble City of *Dublin*, Chap. V.
'to the Kingdom of the *Engliſh*: All whom,
'by the Gracious Favour of God, I have com-
'pell'd to ſubmit their Necks to my Com-
'mands.

'Wherefore I am devoutly diſpos'd to exalt
'the Glory and Praiſe of Chriſt in my King-
'dom, and to amplifie his Service; and by my
'Faithful Favourers, *Dunſtan*, Archbiſhop, *Ethel-*
'*wold* and *Oſwald*, Biſhops (whom I have cho-
'ſen for my Spiritual Fathers and Counſellors)
'in great Part perfected what I deſign'd. Since
'in the Times of my Predeceſſors, Kings of *Eng-*
'*land*, the Monaſteries of Monks and Virgins
'were deſtroy'd, and almoſt rejected all over
'the Nation, I have devoted my ſelf to repair
'them, and to multiply the Number of the
'Servants and Handmaids of God. My fore-
'mentioned Coadjurers ſtrenuouſly aſſiſting me,
'I have already eſtabliſhed 47 Monaſteries with
'Monks and Nuns: And if Chriſt ſhall grant
'me to live ſo long, I have decreed to extend
'this Oblation of my Munificence devoted to
'God to the Number of 50, which is the Num-
'ber [of *Jubile*] for Remiſſion of Sins.

'Wherefore now at preſent the Monaſtery,
'which the foremention'd Reverend Biſhop *Oſ-*
'*wald*, in the Epiſcopal See of *Worceſter*, hath en-
'larged to the Honour of *Mary*, the Holy Mother
'of God, and by turning out the Fooliſh and
'Laſcivious Clergy, hath (being ſupported with
'my Conſent and Favour) given to be inhabited
'by Religious Monks, Servants of God; I by
'my Regal Authority confirm to thoſe Men of
'the Monaſtick Religion, I corroborate and te-
'ſtifie this by the Council and Concurrence of
'my Princes and Nobles. So that there ſhall

Chap. V. 'never more be any Right or Law for the Clergy to claim any thing from thence: For they 'rather choſe, to the Peril of their Order, and 'the Prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate, to 'adhere to their Wives, than to ſerve God 'chaſtely and canonically. And therefore I now 'aſſign and deliver all thoſe Things of the 'Church which they did poſſeſs, together with 'the Church it ſelf, all Eccleſiaſtical, Secular, 'all Moveable or Immoveable Goods, to be 'from this Day forward perpetually poſſeſſed 'by the Monks, the Servants of God, ſo firmly, 'that it ſhall not be Rightful or Lawful for any 'Prince or ſucceeding Biſhop to ſubſtract any 'thing from thence; neither to take out of 'their Power, nor to introduce again the Right 'of the Clergy, ſo long as Chriſtian Faith re-'mains in *England*.

This was a Preſident for all *England*, but before *Dunſtan* could make it take Place, he was forc'd to make uſe of ſome very ſtrange Contrivances. The firſt of them is thus related by Abbot *Brompton*.

* Bromp. Chron. *Pag.* 870.

'* After the Death [of King *Edgar*] the 'State of the Kingdom was very much di-'ſturb'd. For *Alfer*, Prince of the *Mercians*, 'and many others, caſting out the Monks from 'the great Monaſteries, which that King had 'lately eſtabliſhed, would reſtore the Clergy-'men with their Wives: But the Count of '*Eaſt-England*, by the Help of *Dunſtan*, man-'fully reſiſted them. Upon this Affair a Fa-'mous Council being held at *Wincheſter*, an 'Image of the *Crucifix* in the old Monaſtery 'at *Wincheſter*, before them all aſſerted that '*Dunſtan*'s Way was the True Way; thus 'ſpeaking, *Let it not be done, let it not be done:*

'*You have judg'd well, you will not do well to* Chap. V.
'*change.* In Memory whereof, at the upper
'end of the Refectory of that Monaſtery, over
'the Head of the Crucifix, this Metre is writ-
'ten.

'*Humano more crux præſens edidit ore*
'*Cælitus effata, quæ perſpicis hic ſubarata.*

The *Croſs* before us, like a Man,
Did with its Mouth ſpeak all
The Heavenly Sayings which you ſee
Here written on the Wall.

But the next Miraculous Confirmation was not ſo jocular, it was an Invention to deſtroy the States of the Realm, which never were willing to fall under *Popiſh* Slavery. Whatever After-ages may think of the ſame again, *Malmesbury* has given this Account of it.

* 'As yet the Minds of Men being not at * Reg. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 9.
'reſt, a Council was appointed at *Calne* [*Caln*
'in *Wiltſhire*, upon the Bank of the River *Caln*]
'where the King [*Edward* the Martyr] being
'abſent by reaſon of his Age, the Senators of
'all *England* were met: When the Affair was
'managed with great Conflict and Debate, and
'the Darts of many Reproaches flew againſt
'that ſtrongeſt Wall of the Church, *Dunſtan*
'I mean, but were not able to ſhake him, his
'Party being defended with the utmoſt Zeal
'by thoſe of every Order, the whole Chamber,
'with the Beams and Rafters, broke aſunder,
'and fell down. All of them were daſh'd a-
'gainſt the Ground, only *Dunſtan* ſtood upon
'One Beam, which remain'd, and eſcap'd cle-
'verly. This Miracle gave Peace to the Arch-

Chap. V. ‘ biſhop from all the *Engliſh* Clergy, who then, ‘ and ever after, yeilded to his Opinion.

Thus the firſt Monarchs of *England* ſpent about 200 Years, from * *Egbert*, who got into Poſſeſſion of the whole *Heptarchy*, in the Year 827, to *Canutus* the *Dane*, who, as King, took upon him the Empire of the whole Nation in the Year 1017. They maintain'd their Dominions againſt the Invaſions of all their neighbouring Princes, though they never extended them ſo far as the Vain-glorious *Edgar* boaſted. They were from the beginning continually peſter'd with the Piracies and Incurſions of the *Danes*, who by degrees got Footing among them: Many of the *Engliſh* Kings ſpent their Days in Defending the Nation; the more Proſperous of them gave up their People to the Tyranny of *Rome*, overturning the Government of Chriſt's Church, and forſaking his moſt Faithful People, they were at laſt themſelves overturn'd by the *Danes*, of whom we are next to treat.

* Sax. *Ann.*

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Of the Danes.

AFter * Mr. *Camden* had conſider'd all that to his time had been ſaid of the Name and Original of the *Danes*, he acquieſces with much Satisfaction in the Opinion of *Jonas Jacobus Venuſinus*, whom he eſteems a Perſon of great Learning and Judgment. He, diſcards fabulous Antiquity, which derives them from a Giant, called *Danus*, the Son of *Humblus*: Wherein he deals without any Partiality, for he is as little fond of *Brutus* the *Trojan*, though his own dear Country once admired that renown'd Original. But though Nations are much pleas'd with ſuch Stories as makes them Venerable for their Age, yet after Learning has brought Day-light to the World they appear to be meer Rubbiſh.

* Britain. *of the* Danes, *Pag.* 141.

Nor can our Author be contented with what is ſaid by *Andrew Velleius*, a *Dane*, though he acknowledges him to be a Learned Man, who fetches their Original from the *Dahæ*, a People inhabiting the *Caſpian* Sea, and from *Marc*, a Word which ſhould ſignifie not a *Limit*, but a *Region*. The ſtraining and clinching of Names will not be allow'd when People are fetch'd from ſuch remote Countries only to ſerve a Turn.

The Name of *Danes*, Mr. *Camden* ſays, was never known in the World before the Days of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, about the Year of our Redemption 570. So that the moſt Ancient Foot-

Chap. VI. Footsteps, which *Jacobus Venusinus* could find of this Name, were in the *Sinus Codanus*, the most noted Sea in these Parts, whereby *Scandinavia* is separated from the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*. There is indeed a Loss of the first Syllable; but Time contracts Words, and facilitates Speaking.

Canutus, King of *Denmark*, lost the first Syllable of his Name, and was called *Cnute*; but though this be not quite so much, yet *Cdane*, for *Dane*, being of much more difficult pronunciation, the *C* might very well be thrown quite away.

They came to be considerable in the World when the rest of the Northern Nations multiplied to a Miracle: *Europe* was to be new planted, the Empire to be over-run, Kings unthought of to arise, and accordingly those that were formerly hid in Cimmerian Darkness, came forth with Troops and Armies, and took Possession of the best Countries upon the Face of the Earth.

* *Of the* Danes, *Pag.* 12.

* Mr. *Camden* gives us a Relation of this from *Dudo* of Saint *Quintins*, an Author of good Antiquity, which he saw in the Library of Mr. *Stow*, the great Antiquary of *London*. It shall be here given in his own plain Language, that we may be the better assur'd of that Prodigious Superfetation of Mankind, which caus'd all the great Revolutions in *Europe*.

'The *Danes* swarmed from out of *Scanza*, 'that is, *Scandia*, like Bees out of an Hive, in 'Manifold Diversity and Barbarous Manner, 'after they had in Heat, Lascivious Lust and 'Wantonness engrendred an Innumerable Off-'spring. Who, after they were grown to Ripe-

ness

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neſs of Years, falling to hot Contention for Goods and Lands with their Fathers and Grandfathers, yea, and oftentimes among themſelves, when they once overflow'd, and grew ſo populous, that they could have no Room ſufficient to inhabit in the Place wherein they preſently dwelt; and having gathered together by Lot a Multitude of Youth and Springals, after a moſt Ancient Cuſtom, were thruſt out into Foreign Realms, to Conquer to themſelves Lands by dint of Sword, wherein they might live.

From the Continent of *Scandinavia*, they firſt enlarg'd themſelves by paſſing over to the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſes*, where they formerly had Wars with their Neighbours, but upon the going of the *Angles*, *Jutes* and *Saxons*, into *Britain*, took Poſſeſſion of it without any conſiderable Oppoſition. Here they took up the Trade of their Predeceſſors, and infeſted the Coaſts of *Europe* with their Pyracies; but eſpecially thoſe of *England*, and that with ſuch ſucceſs, that at laſt they obtain'd the Kingdom: As if the Crown had been entail'd upon thoſe Inhabitants who ſtill kept up the Name of the *Cimbrians*. Their firſt Attempt upon the Shores of this Iſland is thus related by the *Saxon* Annais.

'*Ann. Dom.* 787. This Year King *Berhtrick* Married *Eadburga*, the Daughter of King *Offa*. In his time firſt came Three Ships of the *Normans* from the Country of the *Herethi*. The Kings Lieutenant getting on Horſeback endeavour'd to compel them into one of the Royal Towns, not knowing from whence they came; but was himſelf ſlain. They were the firſt Ships of

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'of the *Danes* that fought out the *English* Na-
'tion.

It is very common with Authors to call all the People of the North *Normans*, according to the signification of the Name: But here we have Two Distinctions added; they were *Danes*, and came out of the Country of the *Herethi*, which being not much known, * Dr. *Gibson* has given us this Account of it. 'Here-
'thaland is a Word derived from the *Danish*
'*Herrecdt*, which signifies in *English* a *Lordship*.
'Of which there are many at this Day in
'*Jutland*, *Hillers-herret*, *Witung-herret*,
'*Ciars-herret*. The Three Ships mentioned
'in our Annals might come from some of
'these.

* Explicat. nomin. Loc. in Chron. Sax. *Pap.* 31.

After this they visited the Kingdom of *Northumberland* in the Year 793, and destroy'd the Church in *Lindisfarn*. But soon after all the Kingdoms of *England* were united into one Monarchy under *Egbert*: As if a more Potent Protector was just then provided against the Assaults of these new Enemies.

But as they had a greater Power to cope with, they came with a greater Strength: * *Ann. Dom.* 833. 'King *Egbert* fought
'at *Charmouth* [in the County of *Dorset*] with
'35 Ships of the Pyrates: There was a great
'slaughter made but the *Danes* were Masters
'of the Place where the Fight was. There could be no end of these Enemies, for had they been never so much beaten, they might come again fresh next Year: The *Saxons* were not provided with Ships to pursue them home; and had they lost one Fleet, they had swarms enough to fill another. We find that they did

* Sax. *Ann.*

not

not only come again in Two Years time, but that they had Policy enough to land in *Cornwal*, and make an Alliance with the *Britains*, who were the Old Enemies of the *Saxons*.

'* *Ann. Dom.* 835. This Year a great 'Naval Army arriv'd among the Western *Bri-* 'tains, which join'd in a Confederacy with them 'against *Egbert*, King of the *West Saxons*. It 'came to a Battle: For when he heard of it, 'he went out with his Army against them, 'and faught them at *Hengston* [Hill in the Coun-'ty of *Cornwal*]. There he routed both the *Bri-* 'tains and *Danes*. * Sax. *Annals.*

This was but the Year before King *Egbert*'s Death, as we find '* *Ann. Dom.* 836 King '*Egbert* dies, his Son *Ethelwulph* takes upon him 'the Kingdom of the *West Saxons*, but deli-'vers to his Son *Athelstan* the Kingdom of '*Kent*, the *East-Saxons*, *Surrey*, and the *South-* '*Saxons*. * Sax *Ann.*

It was very much the Humour of the great Monarchs at this time to divide their Kingdoms among their Children: Thus the Empire, which *Charles the Great* rais'd, was Canton'd into several Parts, *Lewis* had *Germany*, *Charles West France*, and *Lotharius Italy*. *Ethelwulph* being given up to Learning and Devotion, was not Ambitious of troubling himself with the Affairs of the World, which inclin'd him to take this Course: A great Part of his Monarchy he gave to his eldest Son; and it being only said that he took upon him the Kingdom of the *West Saxons*, it follows that he left the *East-Angles*, the *Mercians*, and *Northumbrians*, in the Hands of those Deputies whom his Father had appointed. This extremely weakned the *English* Nation in defending themselves from the

Chap. VI. the *Danes*, who having once been acquainted with the goodneſs of the Land, ſet upon it with greater Forces and Reſolution.

* Sax. *An.* ‘ * *Ann.* 851. The Pagans firſt took up ‘ their Winter Quarters in *Thanet*, and the ‘ ſame Year 350 Ships came to the *Thames* ‘ Mouth; when they had landed they ſtorm'd ‘ *Canterbury* and *London*, routed *Bertwulf*, ‘ King of *Mercia*, with his Army. But going ‘ Southwards, and croſſing the *Thames* into ‘ *Surrey*, King *Ethelwulph*, and his Son *Ethelbald*, ‘ with an Army of *Weſt Saxons*, fought againſt ‘ them at *Okely* [in *Surrey* upon the Borders of *Suſſex*]. ‘ They made a greater Slaughter in the ‘ Pagan Army than ever Fame has reported to ‘ have been made to this Day, and there got the ‘ Victory.

Had the Monarchy and all its Forces been united, the *Danes* could never have prevail'd ſo far, and muſt then have found that it had been in vain for them to ſtruggle with the Sovereign of *England*; but *Weſt Saxony* being ſecur'd, the other Countries were left expos'd to the Enemy.

Ethelbald and his Brothers did, according to the Order of their Birth, ſucceed their Father *Ethelwulph*, but the *Danes* thought that they might make bold with thoſe Countries which more not immediately under their Care, as we find they did with too good Succeſs. There is little ſaid of *Ethelbald*, but under his Brothers the *Danes* began to ſettle themſelves.

* Sax. *An.* ‘ * *Ann. Dom.* 865. This Year the Pagan ‘ Army had their Winter Quarters in *Thanet*, ‘ and made an Alliance with the People of ‘ *Kent*; for the *Kentiſh* Men gave them Money ‘ to ſtrike up a Peace. Under Pretence of this

‘ Peace,

'Peace, and the Money promiſed, the Army Chap. VI.
'ſtole out of their Camp by Night, and
'laid waſte all the Eaſtern Part of *Kent*.

'* *Ann. Dom.* 866. *Ethellred*, the Bro- * Sax. *Ann.*
'ther of *Ethelert*, took upon him the King-
'dom of the *Weſt Saxons*. And this ſame Year
'a great Army of the Pagans came into *England*,
'and took up their Quarters among the *Eaſt*
'*Angles*. There they became Horſemen, and
'this People entred into a Peace with
'them.

'* *Ann. Dom.* 867. The Army went out * Sax. *Ann.*
'of *Eaſt England*, and by the Mouth of *Hum-*
'*ber* came to the City of *York* in *Northumber-*
'*land*. That Nation was then in great Diſcord
'among themſelves: They had driven out
'their King *Osbright*, and taken *Ella* for their
'King, who was not of the Royal Family.
'But at the Year's end they return'd to him again,
'and both the Kings fought againſt the *Pagans*.
'For they gather'd great Forces, and ſubdued the
'*Pagans* at *York*: They ſtorm'd the City, and
'ſome of them enter'd into it; there was then a
'great Slaughter of the *Northumbrians*, ſome
'without, and ſome within the City; both
'the Kings were ſlain; thoſe that were
'left came to an Agreement with the Pa-
'gans.

The very next Year we ſhall find they had the ſame Succeſs among the *Mercians*. * Six *Ann.*

'* *Ann.* 868. The ſame Army went to
'*Nottingham* in *Mercia*, and there took up
'their Winter Quarters. *Burhed*, King of
'*Mercia*, and his Nobles, entreated *Ethelred*,
'King of the *Weſt Saxons*, and *Alfred* his
'Brother, that they would aid them in Fight-
'ing againſt the *Pagans*. They accordingly went

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with an Army of *Weſt Saxons* as far as *Nottingham* in *Mercia*; they found the Army [of the *Danes*] in their Entrenchments, and Beſieg'd them. But there was not much Fighting, for the *Mercians* ſtruck up an Agreement with the *Pagans*.

* Sax. An. * *Ann.* 869. The Army of the *Pagans* went to *York*, and tarried there One Year.

Ann. 870. This Year the *Pagans* being mounted on Horſeback, march'd through *Mercia* into *Eaſt England*, and there plac'd themſelves in Winter Quarters at *Thetford*. The ſame Winter the Holy *Edmund* fought with them. The *Danes* obtain'd the Victory, and ſlew the Holy King *Edmund*: They entirely Subdued the whole Country, and deſtroy'd all the Monaſteries they could light upon. The Names of thoſe *Daniſh* Princes who kill'd the King were *Higwais* and *Ubba*.

Having thus ravaged over all the reſt of *England*, they came at length to *Weſt Saxony* it ſelf, which for neglecting her Neighbours, whom ſhe ought to have govern'd and protected, had only this Priviledge, to be devour'd laſt.

* Sax. An. * *Ann. Dom.* 871. This Year the *Pagans* came to *Reading* in *Weſt-Saxony*, and within Three Days Two Earls march'd out; Duke *Ethelwulph* met them in *Engleſield*, where he fought them, and got the Victory. One of the Earls was ſlain, whoſe Name was *Sidrac*.

About Four Days after King *Ethelred* and *Alfred* his Brother led a great Army to *Reading*, and engaged the Forces of the *Danes*; there was a very great Slaughter on both Sides:

Duke

'Duke *Ethelwulph* was kill'd, and the *Danes* Chap. VI.
'were Maſters of the Field of Battle.

'Again, about Four Days after this, King '*Ethelred* and his Brother *Alfred* fought againſt 'the whole Army of the *Danes* at *Aſton*, [near '*Wallingford* in *Berkſhire*] and the *Danes* were 'overcome. They had Two Kings, *Bagſac* and '*Halfden*, with many Earls; they were divi-'ded into Two Brigades. The *Pagan* Kings, '*Bagſac* and *Halfden*, commanded one, the Earls 'the other. King *Ethelred* engag'd the Troops 'of the *Pagan* Kings, where King *Bagſac* was 'Slain: His Brother *Alfred* ſet upon the Earls 'and their Forces, where the Two Earls, '*Sidrac* the Elder and the Younger, Earl '*Osburn*, Earl *Frena*, and Earl *Harold*, were 'all left Dead upon the Spot: Both the 'Brigades were Routed, and many Thouſands 'Slain; the Fight continued till Night parted 'them.

'Fourteen Days after this *Ethelred* and his 'Brother *Alfred* fought the *Pagans* at *Baſing*, 'where the *Danes* obtain'd the Victory. After 'Two Months they fought them again at '*Merton*: They divided their Army into Two 'Parts, and each of them made their Enemies 'fly, ſo that for a great Part of the Day they 'had the better; but the *Danes* kept the 'Field: Biſhop *Heamund*, and many more 'good Men, were ſlain there. After this Fight 'there was a great Quiet all the Summer as far 'as *Reading*. King *Ethelred* died after *Eaſter*, 'his Body was buried at the Monaſtery of *Win-'burn* in *Dorſetſhire*.

'Then his Brother *Alfred*, the Son of *Ethel-'wulph*, took upon him the Kingdom of the '*Weſt Saxons*; and within a Month King *Al-*

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'*fred*, with a ſmall Troop, fought againſt the 'whole Army of the *Pagans*: He drove them 'before him a great Part of the Day, but the '*Danes* remain'd Maſters of the Feild.

'This Year Nine pitch'd Battles were fought 'with the *Danes* in that Kingdom which is 'South of *Thames*; beſides innumerable Excurſi- 'ons that were often made by *Alfred*, the 'King's Brother, and ſeveral *Dukes* and *Thanes* 'of the King's.

'This Year Nine *Earls* and One *King* were 'Slain, and a Peace was made between the *Weſt* '*Saxons* and *Pagans*.

* Sax. *An.* '* *Ann. Dom.* 872. This Year the *Pa-* '*gans* went from *Reading* to *London*, and 'there placed themſelves in Winter Quar- 'ters: The *Mercians* alſo made Peace with the '*Pagans*.

* Sax. *An.* '* *Ann. Dom.* This Year the *Pagans* went 'into *Northumberland*, and took up their 'Winter Quarters at *Forkſy* in *Lindſy*. Then 'the *Mercians* a Second time made a Confede- 'racy with the *Pagans*.

* Sax. *An.* '* *Ann. Dom.* 874. This Year the *Pa-* '*gans* left *Lindſy*, and came to *Repton* [in '*Darbiſhire*,] where they placed themſelves 'in Winter Quarters. They drove King *Burhred* 'over Sea, when he had reign'd about 22 'Years, and brought his whole Country into 'Subjection.

* Sax. *Ann.* '* *Ann. Dom.* 875. This Year the *Pa-* '*gans* went from *Repton*, and *Halfden* with Part 'of the Army march'd into *Northumberland*, 'and diſpos'd of his Winter Quarters about 'the River *Tine*. Which Army Subdued the 'Country there, and made frequent Devaſta-

'tions

'tions [in the Countries between the *Picts* and 'the *Britains* of *Galloway*. Chap. VI.

'Alſo Three Kings, *Godrun*, *Oſcytle* and *Anwind*, went from *Repton* to *Grantebrycge* [*Cambridge*] with a great Army, and there ſtaid a 'Year.

'* *Ann. Dom.* 876. This Year the *Pagans* * Sax. *An.* 'ſecretly withdrawing themſelves came to *Werham* [*Wardborow* in *Oxfordſhire*] a Caſtle of 'the *Weſt Saxons*: After which the King [*Alfred*] enter'd into a Confederacy with them, and 'they gave Hoſtages to him of the Nobleſt in 'their Army. They alſo took an Oath upon 'the Sacred Bracelet (which they never would 'do to any Nation before) that they would 'preſently depart out of his Kingdom. But in 'the mean time that Part of the Army which 'had Horſes, ſtole away privately in the Night, 'and came to *Exeter*.

'This ſame Year *Halfden* divided the Country 'of *Northumberland*, which his People plough'd 'and ſowed.

'* *Ann. Dom.* 877. King *Alfred* purſued * Sax. *An.* 'with his Forces the Party of Horſe which 'was gone to *Exeter*, but could not arrive be'fore they were got into the Caſtle, where he 'could not come at them.

'But they gave him as many Hoſtages as 'he would deſire, and took many Oaths, and 'kept the Agreement they had happily entred 'into. In *Autumn* the Army of the *Pagans* 'went into *Mercia*, which Country they 'divided, and committed Part of it to *Ceolwulph*.

'* *Ann. Dom.* 878. About *Chriſtmas*, * Sax. *An.* 'after *Epiphany*, the *Pagans* privately with'drew themſelves to *Cyppanham* [*Chipnam* in

Chap VI. ‘ *Wiltſhire*] and Riding through the Country ‘ of the *Weſt Saxons*, there ſeated themſelves. ‘ Many of the Inhabitants they drove beyond ‘ Sea, and the reſt being ſurrounded with their ‘ Horſe, they brought into Subjection to them: ‘ Except King *Alfred*, who, with a ſmall ‘ Troop, very hardly eſcap'd to the Woods and ‘ Fortreſſes of the Mountains.

Thus was the Monarchy utterly ruin'd, and all *England* brought under the Power of the *Danes*: *Northumberland* was commanded by King *Halfden*, and *Weſt Saxony* in Subjection to King *Godrun* and his Aſſociates: The Countries that lay between them were perpetually harraſs'd with their Marches, againſt which there was no Body able to make Reſiſtance. The Kingdom of *Eaſt England* had been overthrown ever ſince the Martyrdom of St. *Edmund*. *Mercia* fell lately into their Hands by the Flight of King *Burred*, which they diſpos'd of according to their Pleaſure: They took what they thought fit into their own Hands, but for a while

* Sax. *An.* ad An. 874. ‘ * diſpos'd of the Government to *Ceolwulph*, a ‘ fooliſh *Thane* of the Kings, who gave them his ‘ Oath and Hoſtages that he would freely ſur- ‘ render it up to them whenſoever they de- ‘ manded it; that he would be always ready ‘ to aid them, and provide Neceſſaries for the ‘ Army.

But that *Alfred* ſhould after this recover not only his own Kingdom of *Weſt Saxony*, but add the moſt conſiderable Part of *England* to it, is a Revolution that deſerves to be taken Notice of, and the Steps are worth obſerving by which he reaſcended the Throne. 'Twas about *Chriſtmas* that King *Alfred* was utterly Routed; in the ſame Year,

‘ * *Ann.*

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'* *Ann. Dom.* 878. after *Easter*, King *Alfred*, with a small Troop, built a Fortress at *Ethelinga-igge*, [the Isle of Nobles, now call'd *Athelny*, in the County of *Somerset*] from which Castle, with a Party of *Sommersetshire* Men, who lay next to it, he fought against the *Pagans*.

* Sax. *An.*

'Seven Weeks after *Easter* he rode to *Ecgbert's-stan*, [by Contraction *Brixton*, upon the Borders of *Wiltshire*] on the East Side of *Selwood*; hither the People of *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, and that Part of *Hantshire* which lyes on this Side the Sea, came to meet him, and at the Sight of him were very much rejoic'd.

'After One Night he went from that Castle to *Iglea*, and in a Night more to *Eddington*, [in the West Part of *Wiltshire*.] There he fought the whole Army of the *Pagans*, whom he routed, and pursued to the Castle, where he tarried Fourteen Days: Then the *Pagans* gave him Hostages, and made Oath that they would depart out of his Kingdom. They also engaged their King should be Baptiz'd, which was accordingly perform'd.

'For about Three Weeks after King *Godrun* came to him, with Thirty of the most Noble Persons in his Army, whilst he lay at *Alre*, nigh *Athelny*; King *Alfred* was Godfather at his Baptism, but his *Chrism* was perform'd at *Wedmore*; he continued Twelve Days with the King, who presented him and his Company with a good Sum of Money.

Thus was King *Godrun* made a Christian; and that he might seem to have chang'd his Nation as well as his Religion, he receiv'd the

Chap. VI. Name of *Athelstan*; he was also invested with the Kingdom of *East England*, as we find in an Ancient Author.

* Sim. Dunelm. *pag.* 'Ann. 891. King *Guthrum*, who was by 'King *Alfred* taken out of the Holy Font, and 'had the Name of *Healstan* given, died this Year. 'He dwelt with his People in *East England*, and 'was the First who, after the Martyrdom of the 'Holy King *Edmund*. inhabited and possessed 'that Province. We are told also by the same Author that when he died he was King of *Northumberland*: So that he must be Sovereign over the *Danes*, as *Alfred* was over the *English*.

But the greatest Act which discovers the Sovereignty of the Two Kings *Alfred* and *Godrun*, and their strictest Alliance, was their joining together to make *Ecclesiastical Laws*, whereby not only the *Christian* Religion was Established, but Penalties laid upon those that should relapse into *Paganism*.

They are set down by Sir *Henry Spelman* out of Abbot *Brompton*, whereof the Two First may be here recited, as much to our present Purpose.

" Eccles-

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" Eccleſiaſtical Laws Eſtabliſh'd by *Alfred* " *the Great*, King of the *Engliſh*, and " *Guthrun*, King of the *Engliſh Danes*, in " that Council wherein they made their " Alliance.

* Spelm. Concil. Eccl. Leg. Alm. & Guthrun.

CHAP. I. *Concerning the Love of God, and the Peace of the Church.*

'FIrſt, That they ſhould love the One God, and diligently renounce all *Paganiſm*: 'And they have appointed Secular Juſtice, be-'cauſe they know that otherwiſe many cannot 'be corrected; there are many that will not o-'therwiſe incline to the Will of God as they 'ought to do.

'They have appointed this Secular Amend-'ment in common to Chriſt and the King, 'whereſoever the Law of God ſhall be refus'd 'to be juſtly obſerved according to the Command 'of the Biſhop. This is the Firſt Edict of the 'Church, Let Peace be kept within her Walls, 'and the King's * *Hangrid* be preſerved in-'violable.

* *The putting a Man into the King's Mercy.* Somner's *Gloſſary.*

CHAP. II. *Of neglecting the Law of Chriſt, and Reverencing Paganiſm.*

'IF any one ſhall make any ill Change in his *Chriſtianity*, ſo that he ſhews any Reve-'rence to *Paganiſm* either in Word or Deed, 'let him pay his * *Were*, his † *Wite*, and his 'his ‖ *Laſhlite*, according to what he has done.

The

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* *A Fine according to the Price of a Man's Deed.* † *A Mulct according to the Dignity of the Perſon offended.* ‖ *The* Daniſh Laſhlite *is the ſame as the* Engliſh Wite.

Chap. VI. The Pious Care of thoſe Princes for the Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *Chriſt* was the Reſtoration of *England:* They were truly the Miniſters of God whilſt they maintain'd his Worſhip, as well as a Righteouſneſs between Man and Man; and accordingly the Nation was exalted. Hereby all the Bigotted *Pagans* were oblig'd to withdraw, and thoſe who delighted in Rapine were forc'd to ſeek other Countries, where they might enjoy their Heatheniſh Liberties without ſuch Reſtraints from God and Man. We may ſee how they tranſported themſelves the very next Year after *Alfred* and *Godrun* had made this Chriſtian Alliance.

* Sax. *An.* ‘ **Ann. Dom.* 879. This Year the *Pagans* went ‘ from *Chipnam* to *Cirenceaſter*, [*Ciceter*, in the ‘ County of *Gloceſter*] and this ſame Year the *Pa*‘ *gans* got together in One Gang, and ſat down in ‘ their Winter Quarters at *Fulham* upon the *Thames*. ‘ This Year the *Pagans* went from *Cirenceaſter* ‘ into *Eaſt England*, which Country they divi‘ ded and cultivated. The ſame Year alſo the ‘ *Pagans*, who had taken up their Abode in *Ful*‘ *ham*, paſs'd over Sea to *Gaunt* in *France*, and ‘ tarried there one Year.

† Sax. *An.* † *Ann.* 781. The *Pagans* paſs'd over into ‘ *France*, the *French* fought them, but after the ‘ Fight the *Pagans* became Horſemen.

* Sax. *An.* ‘ * *Ann.* 882. The *Pagans* went along the ‘ *Moſa*, [the River *Meuſe*] a great Way into ‘ *France*, and ſtaid there One Year. The ſame ‘ Year King *Alfred* went out to Sea with his ‘ Ships, and fought againſt Four *Daniſh* Priva‘ teers; he took Two of them, all the Men be‘ ing ſlain; the other Two Ships of the Py‘ rates ſurrender'd to him, but the Men were

‘ very

'very much wounded and beaten before they 'would yield. Chap. VI.

'* *Ann.* 883. This Year the *Pagans* went up 'the River *Scheld* to *Cundoth*, [*Conde ſur l'Eſ-'caut*] and continued there for One Year. * Sax. *An.*

'† *Ann.* 884. This Year the *Pagans* went by '*Sunna* [the River *Some*] to *Emden*, where 'they abode One Year. † Sax. *An.*

'† *Ann.* 886. This Year King *Alfred* reſtor'd '*London*, and all the *Engliſh* Nation came in to 'him, except that Part of it which was under 'the Power of the *Danes*. He committed the 'City to the Government of Duke *Ethelred*. † Sax. *An.*

'* *Ann.* 890. *Godrun*, King of the *Normans*, 'died; whoſe *Chriſten* Name was *Athelſtan*, 'being the Godſon of King *Alfred*: He dwelt 'in *Eaſt England*, and Firſt Settled that Coun-'try. * Sax. *An.*

'† *Ann.* 894. This Year, about a Twelve-'month after the *Pagans* had built a Fort in '*Eaſt England*, the *Northumbrians* and *Eaſt* '*Engliſh* took their Oaths to King *Alfred*; 'but the *Eaſt Engliſh* gave alſo Six Hoſta-'ges. † Sax. *An.*

Three Years after the Death of King *Godrun*, '* a great Army of the *Pagans* march'd from the 'Eaſtern Kingdom of the *Franks*, to *Bononia* 'in the *Weſt*, [*Boloigne a la Mer*, upon the 'Coaſt of *Picardy*] where they took Ship, and 'were, with their Horſes, all tranſported at once. 'They arriv'd at the Mouth of the River *Lime-'nus*, in the Eaſt of *Kent*: They drew their 'Ships up the River to the Wood *Andred*, 'Four Miles from the outward Part of the Bay, 'where they took a Fortreſs in the Marſh, 'which was but Half built, and defended by a 'few Countrymen. This Port *Limenus* is now thought * Six. *An.* ad An. 893.

Chap VI. thought to be *New Romney*, the River having ſince changed its Courſe; as we find great Alterations ſince that Time in the Sea-coaſts of *Kent*, eſpecially in the Iſle of *Thanet*, which (as has been already mention'd) was every Way ſeparated from the Main Land by ſo great a River as was hardly paſſable, except in One Place, and ran with Two Mouths into the Ocean.

* Ibid. '*Not much after, *Haſten*, with Eighty Ships, 'arriv'd at the *Thames* Mouth, and built 'One Fortreſs at *Middleton*, [in *Eſſex*,] whilſt 'another Part of the Army rais'd One at *Ap-*'*pledore* in *Kent*.

Upon this the *Eaſt Engliſh*, at leaſt as many of them as were inclin'd to the *Pagans*, ſhook off their Allegiance to King *Alfred*:

† Sax. *An.* ad An. 894. '† As often as the Plunderers went out with 'their Forces, they either went along with 'them, or ſent out Parties to get Booty.

'King *Alfred* got his Army together, and 'places his Camp between the Troops of the 'Plunderers, in a moſt convenient Place, where 'the Woods and the Waters ſerv'd inſtead of Forti-'fications: He could ſet upon any of them 'if they went out to do Miſchief in the 'Country; ſo that they were forc'd only to 'rob in ſcatter'd Companies, at the greateſt 'Diſtance from the King's Army; yet they 'were met with, and continually worſted by 'the Royal Troops, or ſome Forces from the 'Cities.

They made, notwithſtanding all this Care, many Excurſions by Land, and many Pyracies at Sea: At length the main Force of the *Pagan* Army lay at *South Bemflete* in *Eſſex*, where *Haſten* had built a Fort. † Saz. *An.* ad An. 894. '† The King's

'For-

'Forces went thither, and routed their Army, Chap. VI.
'deſtroy'd the Works, took all that was within
'them, their Money, their Wives, their Children, * Sax. *An.*
'and brought them all to *London*; ſome of their ad An. 894.
'Ships they broke, ſome they burnt, ſome they
'laid up at *London*, others at *Rocheſter*.

'*Ann.* 896. This Year the Army of the *Pa-* * Sax. *An.*
'*gans* rais'd a Fortification upon the River *Lee*,
'Twenty Miles above *London*. Upon this, in
'the Summer, many of the Citizens, and other
'People, went thither to deſtroy the *Daniſh*
'Works; but they were routed, and Four of
'the King's *Thanes* ſlain. The King therefore
'in the Autumn placed his Camp in the Neigh-
'bourhood of the City, that when Harveſt
'came the *Danes* might not carry away the
'Corn. As the King rode by the River Side
'he obſerv'd a Place where the Channel might
'be ſo obſtructed that Ships could not paſs;
'which he effected, and built Two Caſtles, One
'on each Side the Stream. The *Pagans* under-
'ſtanding that they could not ſail back with
'their Ships, march'd a-foot croſs the Country
'to *Cwatbrieg*, by the *Severn*, [*Bridgnorth* in
'*Schropſhire*] where they built a Caſtle. The
'King's Horſe purſued the *Pagans* towards the
'Weſt, the Citizens of *London* ſet upon their
'Ships, broke all that they could not carry a-
'way, and convey'd the beſt of them to *Lon-*
'*don*. Before the *Danes* quitted their Caſtle
'they entruſted their Wives with the *Eaſt Eng-*
'*liſh*.

'† *Ann.* 897. This Summer Part of the *Pa-* † Sax. *An.*
'*gans* went into *Eaſt England*, Part into *Nor-*
'*thumberland*; where though they wanted Mo-
'ney, they got Ships, and ſail'd over Sea South
'to the River *Sequana*, [the *Seyne* in *France*.]

'Thanks

Chap. VI.

'Thanks be to God the Army of the *Pagans* 'had not utterly deſtroy'd *England*; but for 'Three Years it was more afflicted with a great 'Murrain of Cattle, and a greater Mortality of 'Men, wherein very many of the King's moſt 'Noble *Thanes* died.

'Then King *Alfred* commanded Gallies to be 'built, which might be ſent againſt thoſe Ships '[wherewith the *Danes* plunder'd the Coaſts;] 'they were as long again as others; ſome of 'them had Sixty Oars, and ſome more; they 'were ſwifter, more ſteady, and much higher, 'than thoſe that were us'd before. They had 'many Engagements, One eſpecially at the *Iſle* 'of *Wight*; they brought ſome Priſoners to 'the King at *Wincheſter*, who commanded them 'to be hang'd.

* Sax. *An.* '* *Ann.*901. This Year died *Alfred*, the Son of '*Ethelwulph*, who was King over all the *Engliſh* 'Nation, except what was under the Power of 'the *Danes*. He Reign'd almoſt Thirty Years, 'and his Son *Edward* took upon him the King- 'dom. Afterwards the *Clito Ethelwald*, his Fa- 'ther's Brother's Son, ſeiz'd upon *Winburn*, '[in the County of *Dorſet*] without the Leave 'of the King and his Nobles. The King rid 'down with his Army, and encamp'd at *Badbury*, 'near *Winburn*. *Ethelwald* kept himſelf within 'the Town, with all the Men that were ſubject 'to him, lock'd up the Gates, and ſaid he was 'reſolv'd to live or die there; but ſtole away by 'Night, and went to the Army in *Northumber-* 'land. The King commanded his Men to pur- 'ſue, but they could not overtake him; in the 'mean Time they receiv'd him for their King, 'and became ſubject to him.

Mr.

Mr. *Somner* says in his Glossary, that *Clito* sometimes signifies *strictly the King's Son, the Heir to the Crown, and he that is to be Successor to the King*: Which must be the Signification of it here; for *Alfred* being the youngest Son of *Ethelwulph*, the Children of his Brother's who Reign'd before him must have a Title precedent to that either of *Alfred*, or his Son *Edward*. So that the *Danes* having this *Ethelwald* for their King, had now a Cause to fight for, which they could never before pretend to. They had been hang'd for Robbers and Plunderers, but now they march'd under the Banners of a *Saxon* Prince. Chap. VI.

'* *Ann.* 904. This Year *Ethelwald* came with * Sax. An.
'all the Ships he could collect, either from the
'Parts beyond Sea, or out of *East England*, which
'was subject to him.

'† *Ann.* 905. *Ethelwald* entic'd the Army † Sax. An.
'which was among the *East English* into Sedi-
'tion; insomuch that they plunder'd the whole
'Country of the *Mercians*, till they came to *Crec-*
'lade, [in *Wiltshire*], where they pass'd the
'*Thames*, took all they could lay their Hands on
'in the Neighbourhood of *Braden*, [*Braden* Fo-
'rest near *Malmsbury* and *Wottonbasset*], and
'return'd Home.

'King *Edward* follow'd them as soon as ever
'he could get his Army together: He laid
'waste all the Country between the River *Ouse*
'and the Ditch, [which was the Boundary of
'Saint *Edmund*'s Kingdom], to the Northern
'Fens. Intending to retire from thence, he com-
'manded that his whole Army should march out:
'But the *Kentish* Men would stay behind, tho'
'he sent his Orders to them by Seven Messen-
'gers. There the *Danes* surrounded and fought
'them: Many of the King's most Noble Cap-
'tains

Chap. VI. ‘tains were ſlain: On the *Daniſh* Party were ‘kill'd their King *Eorick*, the *Clito Ethelwald*, ‘who drew him into Sedition, and *Bireſig*, the ‘Son of the *Clito Beornoth*, with innumerable o‘thers. There was great Slaughter on both ‘Sides; the *Danes* loſt moſt Men, but were ‘Maſters of the Field of Battel.

* Sax. *An.* ‘* *An.* 907. This Year a Peace was confirm'd ‘at *Yttingaford*, with *Eaſt England* and *Nor‘thumberland*, as King *Edward* had decreed.

† Sax. *An.* ‘† *Ann.* 911. The Army in *Northumberland* ‘broke the Peace, and deſpiſing the League ‘which *Edward* and his Son had made with ‘them, waſted the Country of the *Mercians*. ‘In the mean Time the King being in *Kent*, ‘got about an Hundred Ships together, which ‘went towards the South-Eaſt to meet him. The ‘*Pagans* ſuppos'd the greateſt Part of the For‘ces in the Ships, and that they might ramble ‘whither they pleas'd without coming to a Bat‘tel; but ſo ſoon as the King heard that they were ‘plundering, he ſent his Army out of *Weſt Sax‘ony* and *Mercia*, which follow'd them at the ‘Heels whilſt they returned Home: Then they ‘fought, and were routed; King *Ecwils*, King ‘*Halfden*, many Noblemen, and Thouſands of ‘the Common Soldiers, were ſlain.

This ſeems to have been the deciſive Battel, whereby the *Danes* were brought under the Pow‘er of the *Engliſh* Monarch; for though there were many Excurſions and Engagements after‘wards, yet King *Edward* went on, taking in Cities, building Towns, and advancing his For‘ces, till he made his Dominion equal to the utmoſt Extent of King *Egbert*'s Empire.

‖ Sax. *An.* ‘‖ *Ann.* 912. King *Edward* took *London* and ‘*Oxford*, and all the Lands that belong to them.

‘*Ann.*

'*An.* 913. Part of his Forces built a City at '*Hartford*, upon the South Side of the River *Lee*. '*An.* 918. King *Edward* went with his Army to '*Buckingham*, where he tarried a Month, and 'erected Fortifications on both Sides the River. '*An.* 919. King *Edward* march'd with his Ar-'my to *Bedford*, and had that City ſurrender'd 'to him. All the Inhabitants return'd to him 'that had formerly been his Subjects: He ſtaid 'there a Month, and before he went away com-'manded a Fortification to be built on the South 'Side of the River. *An.* 921. Many of thoſe 'in *Eaſt England* and *Eaſt Saxony*, that had been 'under the Power of the *Danes*, ſubmitted to 'him. The Army in *Eaſt England* ſwore Alle-'giance to him. The Army of *Pagans*, which 'was at *Cambridge*, choſe him for their Lord 'and Protector, taking the Oaths as he re-'quir'd. Chap. VI.

Thus he went on ſettling *England*, ſecuring the Habitations of the Natives, and left his Fortifications in ſuch Opportune Places that his Conqueſts were in no Danger of a Relapſe; but eſpecially it was his Care, that if a Town ſtood on the North-Side of a River, he would clap another over againſt it on the South Side, that he might be everywhere able to put a Stop to the Excurſions of the Enemy. When he had ſecur'd the Inland Country he went further North.

'**An.* 924. This Year, before Midſummer, King '*Edward* went with his Army to *Nottingham*, 'and commanded a City to be built on the 'South Side of the River over againſt the other, 'and that there ſhould be a Bridge over the '*Trent*, between the Two Cities. From thence 'he went to *Badecanwyllam* in *Peacland*, [*Bake-* * Sax. *An.*

Chap. VI.

'*well* in the *Peek*] commanded a City ſhould be 'built near it, and ſtrengthned with a Garriſon. 'Then the King of *Scots*, and the whole Nation 'of the *Scots*, choſe him for their Father and 'Lord: *Reignald* alſo, and his Son *Eadulf*, and 'all that dwelt in *Northumberland*, the *Engliſh*, 'the *Danes*, the *Normans*, all the Streacled '*Welſh*, and their King.

* Sax. *Ann.* '* *Ann.* 925. King *Edward* died, and *Athel-* 'ſtan, being choſen King by the *Mercians*, was 'Conſecrated at *Kingſtone*.

Edward built many Towns, ſo well ſettled all his Subjects, left his whole Kingdom in ſuch good Repair, that his Succeſſor was very little troubled with the *Danes*. The Proſperity of a Reign much depends upon the Predeceſſor, whoſe prudent Foreſight lays the Foundation of a laſting Peace. The Wars we read of lay in the furtheſt Part of the Kingdom, and in them *Athelſtan* was very ſucceſsful. The Annals give us but a ſhort Touch, that we muſt be beholding to other Authors for Underſtanding of it.

† Sax *Ann.* '† *Ann.* 927. This Year King *Athelſtan* 'expell'd *Guthfrith*, King of the *Northumbri-* '*ans*.

‖ Sim. Dunel. *pag.* 154. '‖ *Ann.* 925. *Ethelſtane*, the Powerful and 'Glorious King of the *Engliſh*, married his Si- 'ſter to *Sithrick*, King of *Northumberland*, of 'the *Daniſh* Race. *Ann.* 926. *Sithrick*, King 'of *Northumberland*, died, whoſe Kingdom 'King *Ethelſtane*, having expell'd his Son *Guth-* '*fert*, who ſucceeded his Father, added to his 'own Empire.

The Occaſion of this War we muſt learn from *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and *William* of *Malmeſbury*; from whom it appears, that when *Sidrick* married *Athelſtan*'s Siſter, he was a *Chriſtian*, but

but ſoon renounc'd his Religion, and his Queen *Edgitha* was ſent Home into *England*, where ſhe ſpent her Days in a Nunnery at *Pollſworth* in *Warwickſhire*. *Guthfrith*, the Son of *Sithrick* by a former Wife, renounc'd both the Amity and the Religion of *England*; upon which *Athelſtan* beat him out of his Kingdom, and he flew for Refuge to *Conſtantine*, King of the *Scots*. This drew on One of the greateſt Wars and the greateſt Battels the *Engliſh* Nation was ever engag'd in. Chap VI.

'* *Ann.* 937. *Anlaf*, the *Pagan* King of the 'Iriſh, and many of the *Iſles*, ſtirr'd up by *Con*-'ſtantine, King of the *Scots*, his Father-in law, 'enter'd the Mouth of the *Humber* with a ſtrong 'Fleet. *Ethelſtan*, and his Brother *Edmund* the 'Clito, met them with an Army at *Brananburg*. 'The Battel laſted from Break of Day to the 'Evening: † Five Princes, and Seven Dukes, 'who brought in their Forces to the Enemy, were 'ſlain. *England* never knew ſo much Blood 'ſhed in One Battel. The Kings *Anlaf* and *Con*-'ſtantine were compell'd to fly to their Ships 'with the ſmall Remainders of their Army; the '*Engliſh* return'd in great Triumph, under the 'Conduct of their King and their *Clito*, to *Weſt* 'Saxony.

* Sim. Dunelm.

† Sax. *Ann.* ad An. 938.

After this, the *Saxon Annaliſts* were very unwilling to report any thing to the Diſhonour of King *Athelſtan*; but 'tis certain that he left the North Part of *England* in a very ſad Condition, according to the Relation of the State Affairs in the next Reign; for underſtanding whereof it is neceſſary that we ſhould receive a little Information from other Hiſtories.

The *Northumbrians* choſe *Anlaf*, Brother to the late *Gudfrith*, and Son of *Sithrick*, to be

Chap. VI. their King: We find in the First Year of King *Edmund*'s Reign how great a Part of *England* was given up to him.

'*Ann.* 939. King *Ethelstan* died, to whom 'his Brother *Edmund* succeeded in the King-'dom. In which Year *Onlaf* First came to 'York, then marching South, besieged *Ham-'ton:* But not prevailing there, he led his 'Army to *Tamworth*, [in *Staffordshire*,] 'where he wasted all the Country; and as he 'returned to *Leicester* King *Edmund* and his 'Army met him.

* Sim. Dunelm. *Pag.* 134.

'There was no great Matter of a Fight, 'for the Two Archbishops, *Odo* and *Wulstan*, 'reconcil'd the Two Kings. The Peace was 'so made, that *Watlingstreet* should be the 'Boundary of each Kingdom: *Edmund*'s Part 'lay upon the South Side of it, and *Onlaf*'s 'on the North.

To understand this Division it is necessary to know the Course of this Famous High-way, which went cross *England*. * Dr. *Gibson* gives us an Account of it out of an Ancient Manuscript. 'The Second principal Way is 'called *Watlingstreet*, going from the South 'East to the North West. It begins at *Do-'ver*, and passes through the Middle of 'Kent to *London*; then by St. *Albans*, *Dun-'staple*, *Stratford*, *Touceſter*, *Litleburn*, *Mount-'Gilbert*, near *Shrewsbury*, and the Middle 'of *Wales* to *Cardigan*.

* Explicat. Nom. & Loc. in Chron. Sax.

But such a miserable Peace as this was not like to continue long: *Edmund*, the Son of the Wise and Victorious *Edward*, in the Second Year of his Reign (according to the *Saxon* Annals) relieves those Places which were most oppress'd, brings the Two Kings that were his Anta-

Antagoniſts to the Profeſſion of *Chriſtianity*; which being taken up only to ſerve a Turn, and then caſt off again, he utterly deprives them of their Dominions. Chap. VI.

'* *An.* 942. The Five Cities, *Leiceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stanford* and *Darby*, be-long'd to the *Danes*, being compell'd to be Subject to the Men of the *North*. They were long tormented under the Power and Bonds of the *Pagans*, till at length the Warlike Heir of *Edward* ſet them Free. * Sax. *An.*

'King *Edmund* was Godfather to King *Anlaf*, and a pretty while after to King *Reginold*.

'* *Ann.* 944. This Year King *Edmund* brought all *Northumberland* under his Power, and expell'd their Two Kings, *Anlaf*, the Son of *Sithrick*, and *Reginold*, the Son of *Guthferth*. * Sax *An.*

When he had thus ſubdued *Northumberland*, he takes care of another little Kingdom call'd *Cumberland*, from the *Cambri* that belonged to him; where the Old *Britains* were got together, and had form'd themſelves into a Government: They were at a great Diſtance, and were not eaſie to be managed; he therefore ſo diſpoſes of them that they might be kept in Obedience, and that he might thereby gain Aſſiſtance in his Northern Troubles.

'* *Ann.* 945. This Year King *Edmund* waſted all the Country of the *Cumbrians*, and gave it to *Malcolm*, King of *Scots*, upon this Condition that he would Aid him in his Wars both by Sea and Land. * Sax. *An.*

And there was great need of this, the *Northumbrians* being given to a reſtleſs Humour of

Chap. VI. changing their Princes, and the *Danes* being very numerous in that Province, were always setting up their own Countrymen for Kings, as we find in the following Reign.

* Sax. *An.* ‘ * *An.* 946. This Year King *Edmund* ‘ died, and his Brother *Edred* the *Clito* takes ‘ upon him the Kingdom. He presently reduc'd ‘ all *Northumberland* under his Power: The ‘ *Scots* also came and gave him their Oaths ‘ that they would do whatsoever he plea- ‘ sed.

This supposes the Revolt of the *Northumbrians*, which other Authors give us an Account of; * that at *Edred*'s first coming to the Crown, *Wulstan*, Archbishop of *York*, and his Countrymen, met at *Tadcaster*, and swore Allegiance to him, but presently chang'd their Minds, and recall'd the Banish'd *Anlaf*, * who return'd into *Northumberland* with a great Fleet of Foreigners, who were willing to venture for a Share of the Fruitful Soil of *England*, which had been coveted by so many Nations. But after a while, either out of a Disgust at the Preferment of Foreigners, or out of their own Natural Levity, the *Northumbrians* themselves depose him, and set up *Erick*, the Son of *Harald*.

* Hoveden pars prim. *Pag.* 243.

* Huntingdon, *lib.* 5.

King *Edred* resolves to reckon with them for all together, and now found a very convenient time; for being more broken into Factions, they were less able to resist his Arms. He did not think fit to come to a Decisive Battel, which would put Things too much upon the Push, but made the People see the Effects of their Folly: He wasted the Country, burnt their Houses, drove away their Cattle. So that seeing their Miserable Condition under their New King,

King, they utterly forſake him, and ſend their Humble Submiſſion to King *Edred*, entreating him to take them under his Government. Theſe Things are mention'd only in ſhort by the *Saxon Annaliſts*, ſo that to be acquainted with the *Danes* Affairs, and ſee how they were tranſacted, it is neceſſary we ſhould make uſe of another Author. Chap. VI.

'* *An.* 950. For the Infidelity of the *Nor-* * Sim. Dun. *Pag.* 156.
'*thumbrians* did that Excellent King of the '*Engliſh* waſte all *Northumberland*. He burnt 'the Monaſtery of *Rippon*. But in his Re-'turn Home an Army broke out of the City of '*York*, which ſet upon his Rear at *Catesford*, 'and made a great Slaughter of them. The 'King was ſo provok'd that he reſolv'd to go 'back, and utterly deſtroy the whole Country; 'but the *Northumbrians* were ſo terrified, that 'they caſt off their King *Yrick* whom they had 'ſet up, and with no ſmall Sum made Satisfa-'ction for their Offences.

Wulſtan, Archbiſhop of *York*, had been too much concern'd in theſe Troubles: He had ſufficiently ſhew'd his Partiality in the laſt Reign, when he divided the Kingdom, and gave all to the *Danes* that lay *North* of *Watlingſtreet*. But now * he more plainly diſ- * Malmeſ-bur. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 7.
cover'd himſelf, by favouring his Countrymen in their Rebellions. There were ſeveral Accuſations againſt him, for which the King ſhut him up cloſe Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Withrington* in *Northumberland*: And having continued there a Year, ſo many Sollicitations were made upon the Account of his Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, * that he was brought up to *Dorcheſter*, and * Sim. Dunel. ad An. 954.

Chap. V. and there reſtor'd to the Epiſcopal Honour.

* Sax *An.* ‘ * *Ann.* 955. This Year King *Edred* ‘ died, and *Eadwig*, [*Edwin.*] the Son of King ‘ *Edmund* and *Algiva*, takes upon him the King- ‘ dom: But he baniſh'd St. *Dunſtan* out of the ‘ Land.

This is all the *Saxon* Annals ſay of him, only that in the next Year *the* Clito Edgar *took upon him the Kingdom of* Mercia. But every one that reads the Hiſtory of theſe Times may ſee the Reaſon why the Knowledge of them is ſo conceal'd from us: The great Devotion which the Monks had for *Dunſtan* either blots the Actions of a Prince who could not bear the Domination of ſuch a Subject, or at leaſt buries them in Oblivion: But this leaſt Touch, wherein it is diſcover'd that his Brother *Edgar* uſurp'd the greateſt Part of his Brother *Edwin's* Kingdom the Year after he came to the Crown, is enough to ſhew us how unjuſtly he was dealt with. If we would know theſe Affairs more at large, we muſt take them from ſome of his Enemies; they are thus ſet out by Abbot *Brompton.*

* Bromp. Chron. *Pag.* 862. ‘ * After King *Edred*, *Edwin*, the eldeſt Son ‘ of *Edmund*, was crown'd King of *England* ‘ by Archbiſhop *Odo* at the Royal Town of ‘ *Kingſton*, near *London*. Upon the Day of his ‘ Coronation he ruſhed into the nefarious Em- ‘ braces of a great Nobleman's Lady, though ‘ ſhe was his Kinſwoman; for which being ‘ reprov'd by the Bleſſed *Dunſtan*, he baniſh'd ‘ him. He was a Man that was very much an ‘ Enemy to God and the Kingdom: He hated ‘ his own People, and honoured his Enemies: He

He consum'd the Treasures of the Church, to his own Disgrace, and the Peril of his Soul. Chap. VI.

'Upon this the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians* depriv'd him of his Kingdom for his wicked Life, and raised up his Brother *Edgar* when he was Sixteen Years Old to be their King: And it was so brought to pass that the River *Thames* was a Boundary to each King. *Edwin* reign'd almost Four Years, and lyes buried at *Winchester*.

How true the Relations of *Edwin*'s Debaucheries are we cannot tell, but the high Opinion the Monks had of *Edgar*, who was more Notorious, shews that they were extreamly partial. Whatever the Personal Merits of these Princes were, the Publick Actions, in which all agreed, must plead for *Edwin*, and condemn *Edgar*. The eldest Son was crown'd, and in Possession of his Father's Kingdom, shall a dissolute Life be a Cause sufficient for his younger Brother to raise the *Danes* and the Seditious *Northumbrians* against him? Shall the *Romish* Interest be a just Plea for the Monks to stir up the *Mercians* against their lawful Sovereign? Certainly though the History of his Reign be so much conceal'd, yet there is enough left to condemn those who ought to have given us a more faithful Relation.

'* *An.* 957. This Year King *Edwin* died, and his Brother *Edgar* took upon him the Kingdom, and reign'd over the *West Saxons*, as well as the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*. He reigned 16 Years. In his Days all things succeeded prosperously: God granted him Peace as long as he liv'd; for whatsoever * Sax. *An.*

Chap. VI. ‘ ſoever pleaſed God was the Prince’s
‘ ſtudy.

Accordingly we meet with the moſt Glorious Account of his Actions, eſpecially a vaſt Munificence to the Monaſteries, which he exempted from the Juriſdiction of their Biſhops, and by turning out the Presbyters, fill'd them with Monks that were devoted to the Service of the See of *Rome*. Theſe things muſt ſerve us inſtead of the Great Affairs of State; we muſt content our ſelves without knowing how the *Saxons* and *Danes* liv'd together. Only we are told, * *Deus ei conceſſit ut uteretur pace quam diu vixerit. God granted him Peace as long as he lived*, though at laſt the *Saxon Annaliſts* drop that which give themſelves the lye.

* Sax. An. ad An. 957.

* Sax. An. ‘ * *Ann.* 966. This Year *Thoredus*, the Son of
‘ *Gunner*, laid waſte *Weſtmorland*, and the ſame
‘ Year *Oſlac* took upon him the Prefe-
‘ cture.

Another good Author tells us, that the ſame Year *Northumberland* was in ſuch a Diſturbance by the *Danes*, that the Archbiſhop of *York* was forc'd to have another Biſhoprick allow'd him.

* Chron. Radul. de Diceto, *Pag.* 456. ‘ * *Dunſtan* conſecrated *Oſwald* Biſhop of
‘ *Worceſter*, who was afterwards made Arch-
‘ biſhop of *York*; and becauſe the *Danes* waſted
‘ *Northumberland*, he held his Biſhoprick and
‘ Archbiſhoprick together.

Thus are we forc'd to paſs over the Reigns, of which we are ſuffer'd to know very little.

* Sax. An. ‘ * *Ann.* 975. This Year *Edgar*, King of
‘ the *Engliſh*, finiſh'd his earthly Triumphs. And
‘ afterwards his Son takes upon him the King-
‘ dom,

om, a Child unripe for the Government, whose Name was *Edward*, whom may the Great and Good God preserve. As we find it the Copy of *Annals*, publiſhed by Mr. *Welock*; which ſhews, that this was writ whilſt King *Edward* was alive: One Copy of the *Annals* ending at this very Time; and they ing the Hiſtory which we take for our oundation, it may be worth the while to ſert that Account of them which is given by the Learned and Reverend Biſhop *Nicol-n*. Chap. VI.

'* It appears there were ſome Hiſtorians who wrote of the *Saxon* Affairs before Venerable *Bede*'s Time, and I am inclinable to think that a Part of their Old Chronicle (which has had ſo much Honour of late done to it by Mr. *Gibſon*) is of that Age. The firſt Publiſher of this Noble Monument was *Ab. Wheloc*, who tranſlated it, and caus'd it to be printed at the end of his *Saxon Bede*. He made uſe only of Two Manuſcript Copies; One in *Cotton*'s Library, the the Other in that of *Bennet*-College; whereof the former ended in the Year 1001, and the latter with 1070. *Cotton*'s, he ſays, had been compared with a Third, which the Collator (whom he ſuppoſes to have been Mr. *Joſſeline*) calls the Book of *Peterburg*.

* Engl. *Hiſt. Library* Pag. 114.

'Mr. *Gibſon* had the Advantage of Three Copies more; 1. *Laud*, a fair one in Vellum, given by Archbiſhop *Laud* to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, which corrects thoſe that *Wheloc* had ſeen, and continues the Hiſtory down to the Year 1154. This he fancies did anciently belong to the Monaſtery of *Peterburg*, becauſe it often largely inſiſts upon the Affairs of that

Chap. VI. ‘ that Place. But if it did ſo, 'tis plain i
‘ cannot be the ſame, wherewith Mr. *Wheloc*
‘ *Cottonian* Manuſcript had been compar'd, tho
‘ its Variations from it are not very conſiderable
‘ being moſtly in Words, and not in Sence
‘ 2. *Cant.* Another Gift of the ſame Arch
‘ biſhop to the Publick Library at *Oxford*
‘ 'Tis a Paper tranſcript of ſome Copy (now
‘ loſt) differing from all the reſt; and ſome-
‘ times explaining their dark Paſſages, and
‘ ſupplying their Defects. It ends with the
‘ Year 977. [which was in the Reign of
‘ *Edward* the Martyr]. 3. *Cot.* A better Copy
‘ than it had been Mr. *Wheloc*'s Fortune to
‘ meet with in the *Cottonian* Library; which
‘ was accutately compar'd with Mr. *Wheloc*'s
‘ Edition by *Fr. Junius*, and ends *A. D.*
‘ 1057.

‘ Out of all theſe we have the Text made up
‘ as entire and compleat as 'twas poſſible to give
‘ it us; with an elegant and proper Tranſla-
‘ tion, void of all affected Strains, and unlucky
‘ Miſtakes, which uſed to abound in Works of
‘ this Kind.

This Digreſſion may the better be allow'd, becauſe in this Reign we have not one Word of the *Danes*; but great Conteſts there were between the Presbyters and Monks, as may appear by a ſhort Hint given us at the Concluſion of the Year 977.

* Sax. *An.* ‘ * *Ann.* 977. This Year Duke *Alfer*
‘ commanded many Monaſteries to be deſtroy'd,
‘ which King *Edgar* had formerly commanded
‘ the Holy Biſhop *Athelwold* to reſtore:
‘ And about the ſame time that Excellent
‘ Earl *Oſlac* was driven out of *Eng-*
‘ *land.*

Though

Though here be no Mention of the *Danes*, yet the Expulsion of *Oslac* implies great Stirs in *Northumberland*: for we find at the latter end of the Reign of King *Edgar* they were so unruly there that *Oswald* durst not come to reside in his Archbishoprick of *York*; that *Oslac* had the Prefecture of the Province, and according to * *Simeon* of *Durham*, *super Eboracum & ejus fines curas administrabat. Had the Administration of Affairs over* York *and its Borders.* So that violently to turn out the Person to whom the *Saxon* Monarch had committed the Government, does imply that some other Power had the Command there: Though *Oswald* was such a Mortal Enemy to the Presbyters, that their hard Usage might very probably be a great Occasion of his own Fears and *Oslac*'s Misfortunes. Chap. VI.

* Hist. de Gestis Regum Anglorum, *Pag.* 204.

That the Contests between the Presbyters and Monks run very high, and drew in the great Noblemen to abett their Parties, we are inform'd by * *Roger Hoveden*, who thus represents the State of Affairs. * Hoved. *Pag.* 245.

'*Alfer*, Prince of *Mercia*, and many more of the 'Principal Men of the Kingdom, blinded by the 'Advantages they obtain'd, expell'd the Abbots 'and Monks out of their Monasteries, in which 'King *Edgar* had plac'd them, and brought in 'the Clergy, with their Wives. To the Fury 'of this Rash Man, *Ethelwine*, Duke of the '*East Angles*, a Friend of God, with his Brother *Elfwold*, and *Britheth*, a Religious Earl, 'made Resistance: And being met in Council, 'they said they would never suffer the Monks 'to be cast out of the Kingdom, by whom all 'the Religion of the Kingdom was maintain'd.

The Religion at that Time in Vogue consisted in the Superstitions of *Rome*, the Exaltation of

Chap. VI. of the Papal Interest was accounted the Friend-ship of God, and therefore the Monks were truly said to be the Supporters of the Church in the Condition it then was; but Prince *Alfred* might very well have other Apprehensions, and esteem those most whom God had appointed to Instruct and take Care of his People: And since Marriage is honourable in all, he could not but esteem those that liv'd according to the Divine Institution, and had Pledges to engage them to the Interest of their own Country, rather than such who by a pretended Sanctity left themselves at liberty to fall in with a Foreign Usurper.

The Nation being thus distracted between the high Pretences and the plain Reality of Religion, great were the Animosities between the differing Parties. The Bigottry of *Edgar* routed and suppressed one of them; but a Party is not extinguish'd when it is suppress'd; the next Reign, under his Son, who was a Child, gave an Opportunity for it to revive, and shew the World the Merits of a better Cause: This brought the Kingdom into such Disorder, that in the following Reign, under an Unwise and Unactive Prince, it became so weak as to be continually trampled upon by its Enemies.

* Sax. *An.* ‘ * *Ann.* 978. King *Edward* was kill'd in ‘ the Evening at *Corfsgate*, [the Gate of *Corf*-Castle, in the Isle of *Purbeck*, in *Dorsetshire*, where his Mother-in-law *Alfritha* had laid the Design of his Murder], ‘ and was buried without ‘ any Regal Honour at *Warham*. There was ‘ never any thing more wicked committed by the ‘ *English* Nation since they came into *Bri*-‘ *tain*. His Brother, the *Clito Ethelred*, took ‘ upon him the Kingdom.

Three Years after this the *Danish* Devastations

tions came on: At first they fell in Drops, then in Showers, and at last they came with such a Torrent, that they swept away the whole Authority and Government of the *English* Nation. It would be very tedious to follow them in all their Pyracies and Excursions, nor can it be any Pleasure to a Reader to see his Country laid in Ashes, and the Earth stain'd with the Blood of the Slain. We shall therefore only take a general View of these Times, and as a Help to Memory distinguish them into those Periods, in which the *English*, by a Miserable Policy, bought their Peace with the *Danes*; the Necessities which brought them to this will sufficiently discover the History; and the Augmentation of the Tribute, when the People grew every Day less able to bear it, will shew by degrees that Revolution, whereby this Kingdom was brought under the Power of another Nation. Chap. VI.

'* *Ann.* 981. This Year there first came 'Seven Ships, and wasted *Hamtun* [*South-'ampton*]. *An.* 987. This Year was laid 'waste *Wecedport* [*Watchet*, in the County of '*Somerset*]. *Ann.* 991. This Year *Gipewic* [*Ipswich*, in the County of *Norfolk*,] was de-'stroy'd, and soon after Duke *Brihtnoth* was 'slain at *Malden*. This same Year it was first 'decreed that Tribute should be paid to the '*Danes*, because of that great Horrour wherewith 'the Inhabitants of the Sea Coast were struck. 'This first Tribute was 10000 l. Archbishop '*Siric* gave this Council. * Sax. *An.*

This Advice was certainly more proper for a Monk than an *Englishman*, for the *Danes* being only taken off by Money, and not beaten away with Iron, were but invited to come again, where

Chap. VI. where their Booty was so great, and their Victory so easie; we shall accordingly find them quickly coming to demand a Second Tribute.

* Sax. *An.* **Ann.* 993. This Year *Anlaf*, with 93 Ships, came to *Stane*, [*Stanes* in the County of *Middlesex*, upon the Bank of the River *Thames*, which

* Britain, Middlesex. * Mr. *Camden* says] took its Name from a Stone placed there, as a Meer or Boundary, to shew how far the Jurisdiction of the City of *London* extended upon that River.

'*Ann.* 994. This Year *Anlaf*, [King of *Norway*,] and *Swain*, [King of *Denmark*,] came 'to *London*, upon the Nativity of St. *Mary*, 'with 94 Ships, making a sharp Assault upon 'the City, and endeavouring to burn it. But 'they met with such Reception from the Citi-'zens, that they did not think it possible they 'could have had so much Damage by them. 'When they went from thence they did all 'the Mischief, in Burning, Wasting, and Kil-'ling, that an Army was capable of. The *East-Saxons* and *Kent*, the *South Saxons* and *Hamp-'shire*, felt their Fury: At last they got Horses, 'rid about far and near, brought all to Destru-'ction where-ever they pleas'd.

'Then the King and his Nobles decreed that 'Messengers should be sent to them, to promise 'them Tribute and Provision if they would de-'sist from their Military Executions. They as-'sented to the Petition; the whole Army came 'to *Southampton*, and there took up their Win-'ter Quarters; in the mean time the whole King-'dom of *West Saxony* sent them in Subsistence. 'The Tribute paid to them this Second Time 'was 16000 *l.*

But it seems the King of *Norway* was Piously enclined, which the King took such Advantage of

of, that he for ever deliver'd the Nation from one of its moſt Potent Enemies: Whoſe Religion ſeems to be real, becauſe it never ſuffer'd him to violate the Honeſty of his Engagements. 'Tis immediately added after the Payment of the Second Tribute. Chap. VI.

'Then the King ſent Biſhop *Alphage* and 'Duke *Ethelward* to King *Anlaf*, whom (leaving Hoſtages for him in the Ships) they 'brought with great Honour to the King, who 'was then at *Andover*. The King ſtood as his 'Godfather at his Confirmation, and made him 'a Royal Preſent. At which time *Anlaf* promiſed, and was as good as his Word, that he 'would never after attempt the *Engliſh* Nation with an Hoſtile Mind.

Tho' a Sum of Money gave preſent Eaſe, yet the *Engliſh* were ſenſible that it would not laſt long, and therefore they fall upon the only true Way of Safety, which was the raiſing of a Fleet and Army to defend themſelves: But theſe were ſo ill managed that they had as good done nothing.

'* *An.* 997. This Year the *Pagans* Sail'd a- * Sax. *An.*
'bout *Devonſhire* to the Mouth of *Severn*, 'Plunder'd both *Cornwales* and *Northwales*, then 'landing at *Wecedport*, [*Watchet* in *Somerſet-ſhire*], they did a great deal of Miſchief to the 'Inhabitants by Fire and Sword. Then they 'Sail'd *South* round about the *Lands-end*, and 'arriving in the Mouth of the River *Tamera*, [which divides *Cornwal* from *Devonſhire*, according to an old Verſe, cited by * Mr. *Camden*, * Brit. *in* Cornwal.

Loegriæ Tamaris diviſor Cornubiæq;],

'they went with their Ships as far up as *Lidford*, 'Burning and Deſtroying all they met with.

Chap. VI.

* Sax. An.

'*Ann.* 998. This Year the *Pagans* went more '*East*, and landing at the Mouth of *Frome*, ram-'bled all over *Dorsetshire*. An Army was often 'rais'd against them, they were always hindred 'by some Misfortune, run away, and gave the '*Pagans* the Victory.

'*Ann.* 999. The *Pagans* sail'd about to the '*Thames*, and passing up the River *Medway*, 'came to *Rochester*, where the *Kentish* Forces 'met them: There was at first a sharp Dispute, 'but (alas) ours being too weak were soon 'routed. The *Danes* were Masters of the Field, 'hors'd themselves, rode where they pleas'd, 'and wasted almost all the Western Part of '*Kent*.

'Then the King and his Nobles decreed that 'they would have an Army both at Sea and 'at Land, which might go against them. But 'so soon as the Ships were got ready, Delays 'were found out from Day to Day, and in 'the mean time the Seamen miserably oppress'd. 'Whenever the Fleet was to Sail, something 'or other was found out which might put it 'off to another time: So that the Enemy had 'Opportunity always to encrease their Forces, 'and we never did put to Sea till their Fleet 'was gone. So that our Navy serv'd for no-'thing but to Fatigue the People, to Exhaust 'their Money, and give Encouragement to the 'Enemy.

All this could not be unless King *Ethelred* had been as much pester'd with Traitors at Home, as he had been with Pirates from Abroad.

* Sax. An.

*'*Ann.* 1001. The *Pagans* went to the Coast 'of *Devonshire*, where *Pallig* came to meet 'them with what Ships he could get together. 'He revolted from *Ethelred*, though he had of-

'ten

'ten given his Faith to him; and though the Chap. VI.
'King had beſtow'd not only much Money,
'but many Towns upon him. Then they Burnt
'*Tegnoum*, and more Places than can well be
'nam'd. They went to *Exeter*, and in one
'Day more to *Penho*, where *Cola* and *Edſig*,
'Two of the King's Commanders, brought what
'Forces they could againſt them. But they were
'Routed, and many Slain.

'Next Morning they Burnt *Penho* and *Clif-*
'*tun*, and many more good Towns, than we can
'here mention. Returning *Eaſt* to the *Iſle of*
'*Wight*, they there ſet *Wealtham* a Fire, con-
'ſum'd many more Places, till the People came
'to an Agreement with them.

'* *An.* 1002. This Year it was decreed by the * Sax. *An.*
'King and the Peers that Tribute ſhould be
'paid to the Navy, and a firm Peace made with
'the *Pagans*, upon Condition that they would
'do no more Miſchief. The King ſent Duke
'*Leoffig* to the Fleet, who, according to his
'Commiſſion from the King and Peers, treated
'with them, deſiring that they would accept of
'Proviſion and Tribute. They embrac'd the
'Propoſal, and 24000 *l.* was paid to them. This
'was the Third Tribute.

So ſoon as the *Daniſh* Fleet had receiv'd their Money, and was gone Home, King *Ethelred* the Unready, who never had Reſolution enough to Fight his Enemies, being elevated with his new *Norman* Alliance, ſets upon Murdering them in cold Blood. This he executed with ſuch Secrecy and Vigour, as if he had been the moſt Politick and Active Man in the World. Thoſe that have the leaſt of true Valour are moſt expert in the Arts of Cruelty. There was never any Maſſacre without a Pretence; Things

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ſo horrible muſt have a Veil drawn over them; but the true Cauſe is from a Defect of Wiſdom and Valour; for want of theſe Fear would ſecure it ſelf by the moſt Inhumane Actions.

* Sax. *An.* * 'An. 1002. The Lady [*Emma*], Daughter of 'Richard [Duke of *Normandy*], came into this 'Land. Alſo the ſame Year the King com- 'manded all the *Danes* who were in *England* 'to be kill'd upon the Feaſt of St. *Brice*, becauſe it 'was told the King that they deſign'd to deprive 'him and his Nobles of their Lives, ſo that they 'might poſſeſs the Kingdom without Reſi- 'ſtance.

'Tis not ſaid what Number of *Danes* was Maſſacred, but the Circumſtances require us to believe that they were only thoſe that ſtaid behind, when the Fleet receiv'd the Money, and they had promis'd to be gone. If there had not been ſome ſuch Shew of Juſtice, the *Engliſh* Nation could never have been drawn in ſo unanimouſly to execute the Bloody Commands of the King. Beſides, that the great Territories of *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *Eaſt England*, were full of Old *Danes*, who muſt have ſo reſented the Murder of their Countrymen, that they would have immediately Roſe and Reveng'd their Death upon the *Engliſh*. But we find that being well ſettled in their Poſſeſſions, they were in a manner naturaliz'd, and faithfully defended their Country againſt Foreigners.

The laſt War between the Second and Third Tributes ſeems to be made only by Pirates, but now *Swain* upon this Bloody Provocation comes out again, and *Ethelred*, to ſecure himſelf, falls into new Meaſures, but ſuch as expos'd him to the Enemy more than all his former Follies. He put his beſt Towns into the Hands of Strangers,

Strangers, whom the Queen had brought over with her, and his Army into the Hands of an Old Traitor, *Alfrick*, whom he had formerly found falſe, and by puniſhing him had diſobliged in the higheſt degree. He had baniſhed him in the Year * 984. He was Recall'd, and Betray'd the Fleet, * *Ann.* 992. In the Year * 993 the King commanded that *Alfgar*, the Son of this Duke *Alfrick*, ſhould have his Eyes put out. Yet now in the Year 1003 does he ſo far truſt this ſame *Alfrick* as to make him General of his Army. Chap. VI. * Sax. *Ann.*

'* *Ann.* 1003. This Year *Exeter* was Taken * Sax. *An.*
'by Storm through the Negligence of *Hugh*,
'a *Norman* Count, whom the Queen had made
'Governour of it; the *Pagans* utterly deſtroy'd
'the City, and carried away a great Booty.

'Then a great Army was rais'd in *Hampſhire*
'and *Wiltſhire*, which went very unanimouſly
'to Fight the *Pagans*: But Duke *Alfrick* com-
'manding the Royal Army, diſcover'd his Old
'Arts. So ſoon as the Two Armies were come
'within Sight of one another, he feign'd him-
'ſelf Sick, fell a Vomiting, complain'd of
'his Diſtemper, and thus Betray'd the People
'he ſhould have led out to Fight, that it be-
'came a Proverb, *The General's ſick, and the*
'*Army muſt lye by.*

'*Swain* in the mean time obſerving their In-
'conſtancy, and that they were returning Home,
'led his Forces to *Wilton*, Plunder'd and Burnt
'that City. Then he went to *Old Salisbury*,
'and at laſt came to the Sea.

'* *An.* 1004. *Swain* came with his Fleet to * Sax. *An.*
'*Norwich*, Plunder'd and Burnt that City. Then
'*Ulfkettle* calling a Council of the Nobles of
'*Eaſt England*, found it beſt to give a Sum of

Chap VI. ‘ Money, and make Peace with the Invading
‘ Army, becauſe the *Pagans* had ſurpriz'd them,
‘ and they had no time to get their Forces to-
‘ gether.

‘ *Ann.* 1005. There was ſo great a Famine
‘ through the whole *Engliſh* Nation that none
‘ could ever remember the like: So that this
‘ Year the Fleet Sail'd into *Denmark*, but after
‘ no long time return'd again. And certainly
‘ the Famine muſt be very great, ſince a com-
‘ manding Army will not want Bread, if it be to
‘ had above Ground: The Country muſt be en-
‘ tirely deſtitute of Subſiſtence when thoſe that
‘ have maſter'd it are able to maintain themſelves
‘ no longer.

‘ *Ann.* 1006. After *Midſummer* the *Daniſh*
‘ Fleet came to *Sandwich*, according to their
‘ Cuſtom, Plundering the Country, Burning the
‘ Houſes, Murdering the People where-ever
‘ they came. The King commanded the whole
‘ Countries of *Weſt Saxony* and *Mercia* to be
‘ raiſed, and they ſpent the *Autumn* in ſeveral
‘ Brigades attending the Motions of the *Pagans*.
‘ But this was to as little Purpoſe as formerly:
‘ The *Danes* rambled where they pleas'd, inſo-
‘ much that this Expedition did more Damage
‘ to the Country than any one Army could have
‘ done. Winter coming on the *Engliſh* return'd
‘ Home, and the *Pagans* about *Martinmas* went
‘ to their Old Rooſt at the *Iſle of Wight*, where
‘ they provided well for themſelves out of the
‘ neighbouring Countries.

‘ The King in the mean time went up the
‘ *Thames*, and ſo into *Scrobesbyrigſhire*, [*Shrop-
‘ ſhire*], where he kept his *Chriſtmas*. The *Pa-
‘ gans* had then ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the
‘ Nation, that no Body could think or contrive
how

'how they might be driven out of the Land, for 'all the Countries of *West Saxony* were utterly 'destroy'd. The King often ask'd his Nobles 'what might be done before the whole Nation 'was Ruined? It was at last agreed by all, '(though they were very unwilling to it) that 'it would be for the Publick Good, and that 'there was now a Necessity to pay Tribute to 'the *Pagans*. The King therefore sent to the 'Army, and let them know, That he would 'make Peace with them, and they should re-'ceive Provision and Tribute. To this the *Pa-'gans* consented, and the whole *English* Nation 'was at the Charge of Maintaining them. Chap. VI.

'* *An.* 1007. This Year a Tribute of 30000 *l.* * Sax. *An.* 'was paid to the Army of the Enemies. This 'Year also *Edrick* was made Governour over 'all the Kingdom of *Mercia*.

After this the Nation was far from being in a hopeful Condition; for this *Edrick*, firnamed *Streon*, † who had married the King's Sister *Edgith*, and was now made the Chief Minister of State, he was the most perfidious and finish'd Traytor, that, after his first Preferment, ever had his Head advanc'd upon a Pole. But the first Action that the *English* did, after the *Danes* had receiv'd their Money, and were gone Home, made an Appearance as if the Nation would hereafter be defended from its Enemies. † Sim. Dunel. ad An. 1009.

'* *An.* 1008. This Year the King command-'ed that Ships should, with all Diligence, be 'built by the whole *English* Nation: That a 'Ship should be fitted out by 310 Hides of Land, [a Hyde containing as much Ground as One Plough could be sufficient for the Management of every Year] 'and Ten Hides should set out a 'a Man, Armed with an Helmet and Breastplate. * Sax. *An.*

Chap. VI. But the best Methods, and utmost Endeavours of a Nation, are presently overthrown by Domestick Sedition; so that there immediately follows a long Relation how these great Preparations came to nothing, and only increas'd the Load that lay upon the Poor Inhabitants.

* Sax. *An.* '**An.* 1009. This Year the Ships were finish-'ed, so many the Nation had never seen in any 'King's Reign: They all rendezvouz'd at *Sand-'wich*, that there they might defend the Land 'from any Invasion. But so great Preparation 'gave us no new Honour or Felicity, our old 'Fate still attended us.

'At this Time, or a little before, *Brihtrick*, 'the Brother of Duke *Edrick*, impeach'd *Wul-'noth*, Prefect of the *South Saxons*, and the Fa-'ther of Earl *Godwin*, to the King. *Wulnoth* 'fled, and sollicites the Fleet, till he had per-'suaded 20 Ships to revolt to him. With these 'he took Prizes upon the South Coast, and did 'all Manner of Mischief. The Royal Navy 'was inform'd that he might be easily taken if 'they would there wait for him. *Brihtrich* (who seems to have been Admiral) 'takes with 'him Eighty Ships, and was resolved to do 'something considerable: He would take *Wul-'noth* either dead or alive. At this very Time 'there rises a terrible Tempest, shatters all the 'Ships, drives them upon the Shores: *Wulnoth*, 'following the Stroke of Heaven, comes and sets 'them a Fire. When News of so great a Dis-'aster was brought to the Ships which were with 'the King, a Council was call'd, but nothing 'could be resolved upon: The King, Dukes, 'and Lords, frivolously forsook their Ships and 'People, the Seamen row'd back to *London*. 'Thus the Labours of the whole Nation were 'lost,

loſt, and the Expectation that their Fears might be leſſen'd vaniſh'd away. Chap. VI.

Their Fears had too good Grounds, and they quickly felt the Accompliſhment of them: *Simeon* of *Durham*, who follows the Traces of the *Saxon* Annals very cloſe, gives us the Names of thoſe who brought Fleets to invade *England* this Year.

'* *Turkil*, a *Daniſh* Count, came with his Fleet to *England*: In *Auguſt* another innumerable Fleet of *Danes*, under *Heming* and *Eilaf*, arriv'd at *Thanet*: They ſoon join'd, landed at *Sandwich*, beſieg'd *Canterbury*, granted a Peace to the *Kentiſh* Men for 3000 *l.* and then went to the *Iſle of Wight*. * Sim. Dunelm. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. ad An. 1009.

How they afterwards employ'd themſelves the *Saxon* Annals give this Account.

An. 1009. After the *Pagans* had Sailed about *Wight-land*, and from thence on every ſide had plunder'd *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*, the King called out the whole Nation, that every Province might defend it ſelf; but for all this the *Pagans* did what they pleaſed.

'Once it happen'd that the King had ſo intercepted them with his Army, that they could not return to their Ships, and the People were ready to ſet upon them with all their Force; but Duke *Edrick* (as he always did) found out ſome Impediment to baulk the Opportunity.

'They often aſſaulted the City of *London*, but (God be prais'd) that ſtill remained ſafe, and they were always ill treated when they came thither. They made their Excurſions through the *Chiltern*, and burnt the City of *Oxford*.

'* *An.* 1010. This Year they came to *Eaſt-England*, landed at *Ipſwich*, in Three Months * Sax. *An.*

'time

Chap. VI. 'time laid the whole Country waſte, burn
'*Thetford* and *Cambridge*. Then going Sout
'towards the *Thames*, their Horſemen met thei
'Ships, and preſently went *Weſtward* into O
'*fordſhire*, and ſo into *Buckinghamſhire*; the
'along the *Ouſe*, they went up to *Bedford* an
'*Temsford*, burning all the Towns they came a

Thus they flew like Lightning about the Na tion, till

* Sax. *An.* '* *An.* 1011. The King and his Nobles ſen
'to the Army of the *Pagans*, begg'd Peace, an
'promiſed to give them Tribute and Proviſion
'if they would forbear their Devaſtations. The
'had brought into Subjection, 1. *Eaſt Saxony*
'2. *Middle Saxony*. 3. *Oxfordſhire*. 4. *Cam*
'*bridgeſhire*. 5. *Hertfordſhire*. 6. *Buckingham*
'*ſhire*. 7. *Bedfordſhire*. 8. Half *Huntingdon*
'*ſhire*. 9. From the South Part of the *Thames*
'all thoſe of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Haſtings*, *Surrey*, *Berk*
'*ſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and a great Part of *Wilt*
'*ſhire*.

'All theſe Inconveniencies happen'd to us b
'ill Counſel, becauſe the Tribute was not offer
'ed time enough; but after the greateſt Mi
'chiefs were come to paſs, then was Peace an
'Agreement made. Yet when this was done
'Covenants were broken, Peace and Tribute
'ſignified nothing. The *Pagans* run about i
'Troops, plundered, captivated, or kill'd, a Mi
'ſerable People.

'About *Michaelmas* they beſieged *Canterbury*,
'and took it by Treachery, where the Archbi
'ſhop *Alphage* was betray'd by his Archdeacon
'*Elmer*, whoſe Life he had formerly ſav'd. This
'Prelate was ſo convinc'd of the Errour of his
'Predeceſſor *Siricus*, who firſt invented giving
* Sax. *An.* ad An. 1012. 'Tribute to the *Danes*, * that he would not
'be

be perſwaded to give a Penny to them to ſave his Life, but forbid that any thing ſhould be given for his Redemption. Which ſo enrag'd the *Pagans*, that when they were got drunk they beat out his Brains. Chap. VI.

'*Ann.* 1012. This Year Duke *Edrick*, and all * Sax. An.
'the Peers, the Clergy and Laity of the *Engliſh* 'Nation, came to *London* before *Eaſter*, and 'ſtaid there till the Tribute was paid after '*Eaſter*, which was 8000 *l.*

But as in the Particulars of thoſe Countries in Subjection to the *Danes*, mentioned by the *Saxon* Annals a little before, one of the Numbers is plainly miſſing; ſo here in the tranſcribing of this Sum, XL is certainly dropt, ſince we have an Account by *Simeon* of *Durham*, who ſaw the Annals above 500 Years before us, that the Tribute at this time was 48000 *l.*

'* This Year the Perfidious Duke *Edrick* * Sim. Du-
'*Streon*, and all the Chief Men of *England*, nelm. ad
'of each Order, met at *London* before *Eaſter*, An. 1012.
'and remain'd there till the Tribute promiſed to 'the *Danes*, which was 48000 *l.* was paid to them.

The *Daniſh* Revolution now came on apace: For after this Fifth Tribute was paid, the Fleet and Army did not return Home as formerly, but were ſcatter'd up and down the Nation: And Part of the Ships under *Turkill*, the *Dane*, were kept as a Guard to King *Ethelred* againſt other Invaders. This was indeed a Piece of Policy, much beyond that of the *Britiſh Vortigern*, who call'd in the *Saxons* to defend his Country againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, but here we find the *Danes* maintain'd to defend it againſt the *Danes*: Yet thus it was, as the * *Saxon* Annals relate.

* Ad An. 1012.

'When the Tribute was paid, and the Peace 'confirm'd by Oaths, the Army, which was to-'gether before, was diſpers'd into far diſtant 'Places.

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'Places. Forty-five Ships became subject to th
'King, and promised to defend this Land, upo
'the Condition that he would supply them wit
'Cloaths and Victuals.

After the Second Tribute, *Anlaf*, King of *Nor way*, being confirm'd in the Christian Religion withdrew, and according to his Promise neve came a plundering hither again: Nor do w find that after King *Swain* had receiv'd his Mo ney he came again as yet in Person, though he permitted his Subjects to make their For tunes in *England*. But now it was apparen that this Kingdom must fall under the Power o the *Danes*; he who was their Sovereign resolve himself to be the Master of it.

* Sax. *An.* '* *An.* 1013. King *Swain* came before *Au-*
'*gust* with his Navy to *Sandwich*: He Sail'd
'presently about *East England* into the Mouth
'of *Humber*, and went up the *Trent* to *Gains-*
'*borrow* [in *Lincolnshire*.] Earl *Utred*, with all
'*Northumberland*, and the People of *Lindsy*, im-
'mediately submitted themselves to him; as
'did the Five Cities, and all the Army that
'lay *North* of *Watlingstreet*: Hostages were gi-
'ven him out of every Province. Upon this
'Submission he commands Horses and Provisi-
'ons to be given to his Forces: Then making
'an Expedition into the *South*, he committed
'the Fleet and the Hostages to his Son *Canutus*.

'Having pass'd *Watlingstreet*, he did as much
'Mischief as lay in the Power of an Army.
'They went to *Oxford*, where the Citizens pre-
'sently yeilded, and gave Hostages: The same
'was done at *Winchester*. Then they went
'*East* towards *London*, but many were Drown'd
'in the *Thames*, not going about to the Bridge.
'When they came to the City the Citizens

would

would not Surrender, but King *Ethelred* and *Turkill* being there, there was a ſharp Engagement for the Defence of it. Upon which King *Swain* withdrew to *Wallingford*, and from thence croſſing the *Thames* he march'd *Weſt*, and ſat down with his Army before *Bath*. Chap. VI.

'*Ethelmer*, and all the Weſtern * *Thanes*, came thither to him, ſubmitted themſelves, and gave Hoſtages. After this he went *North* to his Ships; every Country entirely yeilded to him, and acknowledg'd him, as if he had been the true King. Then the Citizens of *London* ſubmitted to him, fearing that he would deſtroy them.

* Liberi Tenentes, *Freeholders.* Somner's *Gloſſary.*

'Upon this *Swain* demanded that full Tribute and Proviſion ſhould be given his Army that Winter: *Turkill* alſo demanded the ſame for the King's Forces, which were at *Greenwich:* But ſtill each Army made what Booties they pleas'd; all the Nation, both in the *North* and *South*, lay under intolerable Oppreſſion. King [*Ethelred*] ſtaid a while with his Fleet in the *Thames*, and his Queen [*Emma*] retir'd Beyond Sea to her Brother *Richard.*

'The King ſent *Elfune*, [Biſhop of **London*,] with the Two *Clito's*, *Edward* and *Alfred* over [to *Normandy*], that he might be a Tutor to them. At *Chriſtmas* the King went from the Fleet to the *Iſle of Wight*, where he kept the Feſtival; and then croſs'd the Sea to *Richard*, with whom he continued till *Swain* was dead.

* Sim. Dunel. ad An. 1013.

'* *An.* 1014. This Year King *Swain* died at *Candlemas*, and the whole Fleet choſe *Canutus* King.

* Sax. *An.*

'But

Chap. VI.

'But all the *Nobles of the *English* Nation, as
* Proceres. 'well Clergy as Laity, decreed to send to King
'*Ethelred*, declaring that none was so dear to
'them as their Natural Lord, if he would but
'govern them after a better manner than he
'had done formerly. The King sends his Son
'*Edward* [afterwards the *Confessor*] with other
'Ambassadors into *England*, commanding them
'to salute his whole Nation, to promise that
'he would be a faithful Lord to them; that he
'would mend every thing they did not like;
'that he would pardon all that had been said
'or done against him, if they would but now
'be unanimous, and faithfully return to him.
'An entire Friendship was confirm'd by Words
'and Deeds, Pledges given on both Sides, and
'they declared every *Danish* King an Outlaw
'from *England* for ever. *Ethelred* return'd to
'his People in *Lent*, and was joyfully receiv'd
'by them.

'After the Death of *Swain*, *Cnute* continued
'with his Army at *Gainborrow* till *Easter*: He
'agreed with the People of *Lindsy* to find
'Horses, and that they should all go out to
'plunder. But *Ethelred* came upon them at
'*Lindsy* with a strong Army before they were
'got in a Readiness, where he Wasted and Burnt
'the Country, and Kill'd as many Men as he
'could take. *Canutus* fled to his Ships, and
'when he came to *Sandwich*, set his Hostages
'ashore, but first cut off their Hands and their
'Noses.

* Sax. *An.* '* *An.* 1015. *Canutus* sails from *Sandwich* to
'the Mouth of the River *Frome* in *West Saxony*,
'Plunders *Dorsetshire*, *Wiltshire* and *Somer-*
'*shire*. At which time King *Ethelred* lay sick
'at *Cosham*, [in *Wiltshire*]; Duke *Edrick* had
'rais'd

rais'd One Army, and the *Clito Edmund* another in the *North*. But when they came to join, *Edrick* would needs ſeduce *Edmund* with his Treachery; which when he could not do, they parted, and without any Battle quitted the Country to their Enemies. *Edrick* entic'd away Forty Ships from the King's Navy, and join'd them to *Canutus*. The *Weſt Saxons* ſubmitted themſelves, gave Hoſtages, found Horſes for the Army, which continued there till *Chriſtmas*. Chap. VI.

'* *An.* 1016. King *Canutus* came with his Fleet of 160, and Duke *Edrick* with him croſs the *Thames* to *Creclade* among the *Mercians*, thence, about *Chriſtmas*, into *Warwickſhire*, where they Plunder'd and Burnt at their uſual Rate. The *Clito Edmund* rais'd an Army, but they were not ſufficient, except *Ethelred* and the *Londoners* would join them; ſo they return'd to their own Houſes. But after *Chriſtmas* there was a more general Summons, that every one ſhould appear under a great Penalty. A Meſſenger was ſent to the King at *London*, entreating him to come and meet the *Clito*'s Army with all the Forces he could get. But when they were come together, it was to no more Purpoſe than it had often been before: 'Twas told the King that ſome who were to Aid him, had Treacherous Deſigns againſt him: He therefore diſmiſs'd his Army, and return'd to *London*. * Sax. *An.*

Edmund retir'd into *Northumberland*, and great Expectations were from thence; but all being in vain, he went to his Father at *London*, whoſe Death now approach'd, after a long and miſerable Reign of 38 Years.

'* After

Chap. VI.

'* After *Eaſter* King *Canutus* came with a
'his Fleet towards *London*; but it fell out tha
*Sax. *An.* ad An. 1016. 'King *Ethelred* died before his Ships could ar
'rive there. After the many Griefs and Miſe
'ries of his Life, he came to an End of them al
'upon the Feaſt of St. *George*.

The Death of King *Ethelred* at this Juncture left *Canutus* in Poſſeſſion of the greateſt Part o the Kingdom, but *London* was in the Hands o his Eldeſt Son *Edmund*, call'd *Ironſide*. Accordingly the Crown was ſet upon each of thei Heads. The *Saxon* Annals give us an Accoun of the Election of *Edmund*, whom the *Engliſ* always look'd upon as the King whilſt h liv'd.

'*An.* 1016. After the Death [of *Ethelred*,
'all the Nobles that were at *London*, and the Ci
'tizens, choſe *Edmund* for King. He with ve
'ry great Difficulty defended his Kingdomfor
'the Time he held it.

Simeon of *Durham*, an Ancient and Grave Hiſtorian, who all along is very agreeable with the Annals, gives us an Account alſo of the Election of *Canutus*: He adds ſomething of his own, but in this Reign does not flouriſh, like other Hiſtorians, upon the Duel between the Two Kings, and the Inventions to Murder King *Edmund*, ſo that we may ſafely venture to take ſome Light from him without Danger of being led out of the Way.

† Sim. Dunel. *pag.* 173. '† After the Death of King *Ethelred*, the Bi-
'ſhops, Abbots, Dukes and Nobles of *England*,
'met together, and with one Conſent choſe *Ca-*
'*nutus* to be their Lord and King; and coming
'to him at *Southampton*, they renounc'd in his
'Preſence the Progeny of King *Ethelred*; they
'made

'made their Peace with him, and ſwore Allegi- Chap. VI.
'ance.

This double Coronation made King *Edmund*'s Reign a continual State of War; it laſted but little above Half a Year, from St. *George*'s to St. *Andrew*'s Day; yet in that Time the Annals give us an Account of Five pitch'd Battels between the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. *London* was the Place moſt contended for, and *Weſt Saxony* was the Source from whence King *Edmund* drew his Forces, which were Victorious, and would have preſerv'd the *Engliſh* Monarchy, if it had not been for the unparallell'd Treachery of Duke *Edrick Streon*, by whom both Father and Son, under the ſtrangeſt Infatuation that was ever heard of, were utterly ruin'd.

'* About a Fortnight before *Whitſontide Ca-* * Sax. An.
'*nutus* brought his Ships to *Greenwich*, and pre-
'ſently after to *London:* There was a great
'Dock dug to the South, and they were drawn
'up into it Weſt of the Bridge. Then the City
'was ſo ſtraitly Beſieg'd that there was no get-
'ing in or out; many Aſſaults were given, but
'the Citizens valiantly repuls'd them.

'*Edmund* was gone from thence, invaded the
'*Weſt Saxons*, and all the People ſubmitted
'themſelves to him. Not long after he fought
'the *Daniſh* Army at *Pen*, near *Gillingham*, [in
'*Somerſetſhire.*] There was another Engage-
'ment after *Midſummer* at *Sceorſtan*, [the Stone which divides the Four Counties of *Oxford*, *Gloceſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Warwick*]; 'many were
'ſlain on both Sides, the Armies of their own
'Accord diſengaged themſelves: But Duke
'*Edrick* and *Almar*, whom the *Danes* had an
'Affection for, join'd their Forces againſt King
'*Edmund.*

Chap. VI.

'The Third Time *Edmund* raiſes an Army, 'marches to *London*, ſets the Inhabitants free, 'and drives the *Danes* to their Ships. Two 'Days after the King went to *Brentford*, fought 'the *Danes*, and routed them. Many *Engliſh* 'were drown'd, who, too greedy of Plunder, run 'before the Army. The King then haſtens into '*Weſt Saxony*, and recruits his Forces; in the 'mean Time the *Daniſh* Troops return to *Lon-* 'don, beſiege the City, and ſtorm it both by 'Water and Land, but the Almighty God was 'their Deliverer.

'The *Danes* retir'd from *London* with their 'Ships to *Arwan*, [*Ware*,] where they left 'them, and march'd into *Mercia*, Killing, Burn- 'ing, and getting Plunder, (as their Manner was); 'at laſt they brought their Ships and their 'Droves to the *Medway*.

'Then the Fourth Time King *Edmund* rais'd 'an Army all over *England*, croſs'd the *Thames* 'at *Brentford*, and march'd into *Kent*: He 'drove the *Daniſh* Horſe into *Shippy*, and ſlew 'as many as he could overtake. But Duke *E-* 'drick kept the King at *Ailesford*; than which 'there never was any Council more perfidious. 'After this the *Danes* took their Courſe into '*Eſſex*, went on to *Mercia*, where they kill'd 'all they met.

'When the King heard that the *Danes* were 'upon this Expedition, he the Fifth Time raiſed 'Forces, all that the *Engliſh* Nation would af- 'ford him; and following them in the Rear, 'overtook them at a Hill call'd *Aſſandun*, [or 'the Mount of *Aſſes*,] in *Eſſex*, and there came 'to a ſharp Engagement. Duke *Edrick*, as he 'had oft done, takes his Flight with his *Mage-* '*ſetenſes*, [†ſome *Welſh* People about *Radnor*,] 'and

† Camden Brit. Radnor *is ſtill call'd in* Welſh Maiſeveth.

'and ſo betray'd his Natural Lord, and the whole Nation. There *Canutus* got the Victory, the whole *Engliſh* Nation was engag'd againſt him. *Ednoth*, Abbot *Wulſig*, Duke *Alfrick*, and Duke *Godwin*, *Ulfkettle*, Duke of *Eaſt England*, and *Ethelwald*, Son of Duke *Ethelſig*, and the whole *Engliſh* Nobility, were 'ſlain. Chap. VI.

'After this Fight King *Canutus* went with 'his Army into *Gloceſterſhire*, it being reported 'that King *Edmund* was ſeen there. Then Duke '*Edrick*, and the Nobles that were there, gave 'Advice that the Kings ſhould agree between 'themſelves. Accordingly the Kings met at '*Olanige*, [an Iſland in the River *Severn*, call'd 'at this Day the *Eight:*] They made a firm 'Agreement with one another, giving Pledges 'and Oaths in Confirmation of it. They agreed 'upon a Tribute to be paid to the *Danes*, and 'after the Peace was concluded King *Edmund* 'went into *Weſt Saxony*, and King *Canutus* 'into *Mercia*.

'The *Danes* went directly to their Ships with 'the Plunder they had got: The *Londoners* 'ſtruck up an Agreement with them, and for a 'Sum of Money bought their Peace. They 'brought their Ships to the City, and took up 'their Winter Quarters in it.

'At the Feaſt of St. *Andrew* King *Edmund* 'died, and was buried with his Grandfather *Ed*-'*gar* in *Glaſtenbury*. Thus the Revolution was 'compleated, and the intire Monarchy fell into 'the Hands of the *Danes*.

'* *An.* 1017. This Year King *Canutus* took 'upon him the Empire of the whole *Engliſh* 'Nation, and divided it into Four Parts; to 'himſelf he reſerv'd *Weſt Saxony*, he gave *Tur*- * Sax. An.

Chap. VI.

'kill *Eaſt England*, *Edrick Mercia*, and to *Irick* 'Northumberland.

This Great Prince underſtood the Settlement of a Monarchy; he would not graſp all the Countries of the Nation into his own Hands, till his Arms were grown ſtrong enough to hold them: To this Purpoſe he makes uſe of thoſe who had the greateſt Power and Intereſt in the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, that they might at preſent be a Support to him, and the People more eaſily ſubmit to thoſe that had been their former Governours. But this was only for a Shew, and ſoon vaniſh'd; for we find,

* Sax. *An.* ad An. 1017.

* This ſame Year Duke *Edrick* was put to 'Death; as was alſo *Northman*, the Son of 'Duke *Leofwin*; *Ethelword*, the Son of *Athel*- 'mar the Great; and *Britrick*, the Son of 'Elfget, the Chief Governour in the Weſt.

† Sim. Dunelm. ad An. 1017.

† Concerning theſe laſt *Simeon* of *Durham* ſays, they were *ſine Culpa interfecti*, *kill'd without Fault.* 'Twas only an Act of cruel Policy; now there was to be a Tranſition of the Government into the Hands of Foreigners, thoſe muſt be taken off who were moſt Popular among the Natives. But for the Death of Duke *Edrick* he gives us a moſt reaſonable Account. 'At *Chriſtmas*, when *Canutus* was 'at *London*, he commanded the Perfidious Duke 'Edrick to be ſlain in the Palace, becauſe he 'fear'd ſome Time or other to be circumvented 'by his Treacheries, as his former Lords, 'Ethelred and *Edmund*, had often been. He 'gave Orders that his Body ſhould be thrown 'over the Wall of the City, and lye unburied.

Though this Execution was quickly after *Edrick*'s Preferment to the *Tetrarchy*, yet this grand Traitor had firſt given his Advice for the

De-

Deſtruction of the Royal Family of *England*, as the ſame Author has it. Chap. VI.

'† *Edrick* councell'd *Canutus* to kill the young *Clitos*, *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Sons of King *Edmund*; but becauſe it would be too odious to put them to Death in *England*, after a little Time he ſent them to be made away by the King of *Sweden*: Notwithſtanding the Alliance between theſe Princes, he would not comply with his Requeſt, but ſent them to *Solomon*, King of *Hungary*, both to be preſerv'd and educated. *Edmund* after ſome Time died, but *Edward* married *Agatha*, the Daughter of *Henry*, Emperor of *Germany*, by whom he had *Margaret*, Queen of *Scots*, *Chriſtiana* a Nun, and the *Clito Edgar*: Such was the Care of Divine Providence over theſe Royal Branches. † Sim. Dunel. ad. An. 1017.

'* *An.* 1017. About the Firſt of *Auguſt*, the King commanded that [*Emma*,] the Relict of his Predeceſſor *Ethelred*, Daughter of *Richard*, [Duke of *Normandy*] ſhould be brought to be his Wife. * Sax. *An.*

The Policy of this a good *Saxon* Author has acquainted us with. 'That *Canutus* fearing 'leſt the lawful Heir ſhould come to poſſeſs 'the Kingdom, to whom it did by Right belong, 'ſought to ſupport himſelf by the *Norman* Pow'er, and gain the Affection of that Duke, upon 'which Account he married the Relict of the 'deceas'd King. This made the *Confeſſor* after'wards complain, in a Charter he granted to *Weſt'minſter*, that his Mother had of an Enemy 'made him a Father-in-law. * Abb. de Rieval. *Pag.* 374.

† 1018. This Year a Tribute was paid from 'all *England* of 72000 *l.* beſides what the Citi'zens of *London* paid, which was 11000 *l.* † Sax. *An.*

Chap. VI. ‘ *Simeon* ſays the City paid 15000*l.* From ‘ whence a late † Author well obſerves the ‘ flouriſhing Trade and Wealth of that City to ‘ be very great in thoſe Days, ſince it could ‘ even at that Time pay above a Seventh of this ‘ exceſſive Taxation.

† Tyrrell, *at the Year* 1018.

If the Numbers of other Authors be more exact, it was above a Fifth Part in Proportion to the whole Kingdom. But 'tis poſſible that the City might be over-tax'd for their Loyalty to their Two laſt Kings, *Ethelred* and *Edmund*; beſides that it had ſuffer'd leaſt in the late deſtructive Wars, and therefore was beſt able to bear the Burden. Thus *Canutus* having paid his Debts, in the next Place provides for his own Security, and the Settlement of the Nation. 'Tis added under the ſame Year 1018, that he ſent ‘ Part of his Army Home to *Denmark*, re- ‘ taining Forty Ships with him here: Alſo ‘ that the *Danes* and *Engliſh* were brought into ‘ a Concord at *Oxford*.

* Ad An. 1018.

* *Simeon* of *Durham* explains this ſhort Note a little, and tells us, that this Concord conſiſted *in lege regis Edgari tenenda*; *in authorizing the Law of King* Edgar *to be obſerv'd.* † *Brompton* calls this Meeting of the *Danes* and *Engliſh* at *Oxford* a Parliament; and that their Agreement was the Obſervation of the foremention'd Law. This was indeed the true Settlement of the *Engliſh* Nation, whence their own Conſtitution, and their own Law, was to be maintain'd.

† Chron. *Pag.* 908.

It is of no great Conſequence which of the *Saxon* Prince's Laws were agreed upon to be obſerv'd, for they were all very much the ſame; it being their Cuſtom at the Meeting of the States of the Realm not to make a few particular Statutes, but to give an entire and compendious

dious Body of them, that the Subjects might be easily and fully inform'd of their Duty. This made them much known, and for the Excellency of them the People had the greatest Veneration; so that this Politick Prince took the only Way to establish his Throne, which he had a happy President for in the Concord made between King *Alfred* and the *Danish* King *Guthrun*, in the Year 891. After this Concord and Settlement, Chap. VI

'* *An.* 1019. King *Canutus* return'd into * Sax. *An.*
'*Denmark*, and staid there all the Winter.

'*An.* 1020. King *Canutus* came back into '*England*, and at the Time of *Easter* held a great 'Council at *Cyrnecaster*, [*Circiter* in *Glocester-*'*shire*,] where Duke *Ethelword* was outlaw'd. We read nothing more either of the Man or his Crime, but certainly it must be a great Satisfaction to the *English* that their Peers were judged in a Parliamentary Way.

'† *An.* 1021. This Year King *Canutus*, at the † Sax *Ann.*
'Feast of St. *Martin*, outlaw'd Earl *Turkill*. *Simeon* adds, that he and his Wife *Egith* were Banished the Kingdom. He was a *Danish* Subject, and the King might not stand so much upon the Formality of *English* Law in the Proceedings against him: But he continued much longer in his Government of *East England*, than Duke *Edrick* did in that of *Mercia*. For tho' the King resolved to take all into his own Hands, yet he could not so easily turn off a Subject of Reputation, as he dispatch'd a Traytor, whom every good Man would think to have been serv'd right.

Things were now so well settled at Home, that *Canutus* engaged in Wars Abroad.

Char. VI.

* Sax. An.

'* *An.* 1025. *Canutus* went to *Denmark*, and 'arriv'd at the Plain near the Holy River, 'where *Ulf* and *Eglaf*, with a very great Army, 'both of Land and Sea Forces, encountred him 'out of *Swedeland*. Many of *Canutus*'s Men were 'Slain, both *Danes* and *Engliſh*; the *Swedes* 'were Maſters of the Field of Battel.

'*An.* 1028. This Year King *Canutus* went 'from *England* with Forty Ships of *Engliſh Thanes* 'into *Norway*, drove King *Olave* out of his 'Country, and brought that Nation in Subjecti-'on to himſelf.

Our Old Author gives ſuch an Account of this Invaſion as makes it neither Honeſt nor Honourable.

* Sim. Dunelm. *Pag.* 178.

'* When it was intimated to the King of '*England* and *Denmark* that the *Norwegians* 'deſpis'd their King *Olave* for his Simplicity, 'Meekneſs, Equity, and too much Religion, he 'ſent a great deal of Gold and Silver amongſt 'them, earneſtly entreating, that laying aſide 'their Prince, they would ſurrender themſelves, 'and permit him to Reign over them. They 'with great Greedineſs receiv'd what he ſent, 'and return'd in Anſwer, that they were ready 'to accept of him whenever he pleas'd to come. After ſuch a Conqueſt as it was,

* Sax. An.

'* *An.* 1029. King *Canutus* returns into *England*. King *Olave* hoping that his Subjects would reſtore him to his Kingdom, which they had ſo undeſervedly depriv'd him of, in this Abſence of *Canutus* makes an Attempt for the Recovery of it; but with very bad Succeſs; as we find,

'*An.* 1030. King *Olave* came into *Norway*; 'but the People roſe againſt him, and coming 'to a Battle, there ſlew him. *Simeon* calls him King

King and Martyr, as he has been ſince reputed, and worſhipped for a Saint. But there was one Way to make Atonement for all Sins: *Canutus* liberally endow'd the Monaſteries at Home, and then went in Perſon a Pilgrimage to *Rome*. Chap. VI.

'* *An.* 1031. This Year, as ſoon as *Canutus* re- * Sax. *An.*
'turned into *England*, he beſtow'd the Port of '*Sandwich*, and all its Revenues, upon *Chriſt-*'*Church* in *Canterbury*. This Year alſo King '*Canutus* went to *Rome*, and this ſame Year as 'he return'd Home landed in *Scotland*: *Mal-*'*colm*, King of *Scotland*, became ſubject to him, 'and Two other Kings, *Malbeth* and *Feh-*'*mark*.

Thus had he the Happineſs of ſeeing this Iſland in a quiet Subjection to him before he died; and having ſo lately been careſs'd by the Pope, he could have nothing upon his Conſcience to trouble him.

After this we meet with nothing conſiderable, but 'tis ſaid,

'* *An.* 1036. This Year King *Canutus* died * Sax. *An.*
'at *Shaftsbury*, and was buried at the old Mona-'ſtery in *Wincheſter*. He was King over all '*England* near 20 Years.

'Preſently after the Death of *Canutus* there 'was a *Convention* of all the Nobles at *Oxford*. 'Earl *Leofrick*, and almoſt all the *Thanes* on 'the North Side of the *Thames*, and the † Mer- † Nautæ.
'chants of *London*, choſe *Harold* to be King of all '*England*, whilſt his Brother *Hardecnute* was in '*Denmark*. But Earl *Godwin*, and all the Nobles 'of *Weſt Saxony*, oppos'd it as long as they could, 'but were not able to prevail. Then it was de-'creed, that *Alfgiva*, [*Emma*,] the Mother of '*Hardecnute*, ſhould live at *Wincheſter* with 'the Domeſticks of the King her Son, [*Hardec-*
'*nute*,]

Chap VI. ‘ *nute*,] and poſſeſs all *Weſt Saxony*, when
‘ Earl *Godwin* ſhould be Chief.

Simeon gives us an Account how *Canutus* had determin'd the Succeſſion before he died.

† Sim. Dun. *Pag.* 179. ‘ † *Canutus*, King of the *Engliſh*, before his
‘ Death appointed his Son *Swain* to be King
‘ over the *Norwegians*; *Hardecnute*, his Son by
‘ Queen *Emma*, he placed King over the *Danes*
‘ but his Son *Harold*, by *Elgiva* of *Hamton*
‘ [*Northampton*,] he appointed King of the *Eng-*
‘ *liſh*.

The *Saxon* Annals proceed, and ſuggeſt the Cauſe of the Diſpute.

* Ad. An. 1036. ‘ * It is ſaid by ſome of *Harold*, that he was
‘ the Son of King *Canutus* and *Elfgiva*, the
‘ Daughter of Duke *Elfelm*; but that did not
‘ ſeem likely to many.

We find the Story that went about thus told, by an Author that liv'd in the Year 1210.

* Chron. Radul. de Diceto, ad An. 1036. ‘ * *Harold* ſaid he was the Son of *Canutus*
‘ and *Alfgiva*, though that was not at all true,
‘ for they ſay he was the Son of a certain Shoe-
‘ maker; and that the Queen *Alfgiva*, without
‘ the King's Knowledge, adopted him for her
‘ Son, and educated him as if he had been the
‘ King's Son.

In this Controverſie, whether *Harold* was Legitimate or no, it was impoſſible for the Subjects to know their Duty, except they did acquieſce in the Determination of the Convention, and receive him whom the Nobles of the Kingdom declared to be their Sovereign; though at Firſt *Harold* ſeems only to have that Part of the Nation given him which lyes North of *Thames*; and afterwards to have ſeized upon the Whole, by driving his Mother-in-law *Emma* from *Wincheſter*; as *Simeon* writes more at large.

‘ * After

Chap. VI.

'*After *Canutus* was buried at *Winchester*, Queen *Algiva*, [*Emma*,] resided there. But *Harold* having obtain'd the Royal Dignity, quickly sent his Guards thither, and tyrannically took away from her the greater and the better Part of all those Treasures and Riches which King *Canutus* had left her, and sent her away despoil'd of what she had. So that the Partition, whereby she and Earl *Godwin* were to have the Administration of the West, came to nothing; and tis added by the Annals at the Close of this Year, [*Harold*] was fully King all over *England*.

* Sim. Dunelm. *pag.* 179.

'**An.* 1037. This Year *Alfgiva*, [*Emma*,] the Relict of King *Canutus*, who was the Mother of *Edward* [the *Confessor*,] and King *Hardicnute* was expell'd, and having obtain'd the Favour of *Baldwin*, he gave her a Place of Residence at *Bruges*, [in *Flanders*,] where he did not only protect, but maintain her.

* Sax. *An.*

This is related by *Simeon* with very hard Circumstances.

'† *Algiva*, formerly Queen of the *English*, at the beginning of Winter, without Mercy was driven out of *England*: A Ship was provided for her in *Flanders*, wherein she was Transported, and she was there received with Honour by the Noble Earl *Baldwin*: He most bountifully provided every Thing that was necessary for her, as became the Character of so Great a Man.

† Sim. Dunel. ad An. 1037.

'**An.* 1039. This Year King *Harold* died at *Oxford*, the Seventeenth Day of *March*, and was buried at *Westminster*. He govern'd *England* Four Years and Sixteen Weeks. In his Time Tribute was paid for Maintaining Sixteen Ships,

* Sax. *An.*

Chap. VI. 'Ships, to every Rower Eight Marks, as had 'been done in the Reign of King *Canutus*.

These were a sufficient Guard against the Roving Pyrates, for we do not find that the Nation receiv'd the least Disturbance by them all his Time, but *England* enjoy'd a constant Serenity; and as his Father had subdued *Scotland*, so he * had it in a peaceable Subjection all his Reign. Yet for all this the Monks had no Kindness for him, but relate every Thing to his Disadvantage, from whom many of our Kings who deserv'd well, have receiv'd a very ill Character Their Merits were the Raising and Endowing Monasteries; and herein it must be confess'd that he fell short of his Father *Canutus*, who was not only willing to oblige them in this, but to make Satisfaction for those Things which were hardest to be digested by the *English*. It was reported, that † *Swain*, just before his Death, had impos'd a Tribute upon the Possessions of St. *Edmund*, threatned to burn and destroy his Town, besides many Reproaches had been cast by him upon the Holy Martyr; whence it came to pass that one Evening, when he was in perfect Health, in the midst of his Guards, St. *Edmund* struck him dead with a Dagger at the Town of *Gainsburrow*: This was generally believ'd; nay, and the Monks will have it, that even his Son *Canutus* was of this Belief; for when he came to the Crown, and consider'd his Father's End, he dealt after another Manner with St. *Edmund*; he Founded his Abbey, and Instituted Monks there.

* Brompt. *Pag.* 932.

† Brompt. Chron. *Pag.* 892.

Another Thing *Canutus* did to shew his Affection to the *English* that were slain at the Bloody Battel of *Assandun*, where the Nation was betray'd to him; ‖ he built a Church there, that

‖ Sax. *An.* ad An. 1020.

that Prayers might be ſaid for the Souls of thoſe who had loſt their Lives in the Fight. As *Harold* did not ſo much regard theſe Things, but took Care to fill the Biſhopricks, as far as his Intereſt went, with the moſt deſerving Perſons; ſo he was not like to find much Favour from another Sort of Men, who had Engroſs'd both the Church Affairs, and the Buſineſs of Writing Annals and Hiſtory, to themſelves.

This *Daniſh Harold* is diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Harefoot*, an Account whereof the *Abbot of *Joreval* thus gives us: 'Contrary 'to his Kingly Highneſs, hs took Delight in go- 'ing a Foot rather than in Riding, whereby he 'arriv'd at ſuch a Nimbleneſs, that he was com- 'monly call'd *Harold Harefoot*: Though the †Canon of *Leiceſter* gives us another Opinion; 'He had a Body much after the Shape of a *Hare*, 'and therefore was call'd *Harefoot*. However it was, he could certainly get no very Honourable Title among them.

* Brompt. Chron. *Page* 932.

† Knighton de Event. Angliæ. *L.* 1. *c.* 6.

'* *Ann.* 1039. This Year *Hardecnute* came 'to *Sandwich*, Seven Days before *Midſummer*, 'and was readily received both by the *Engliſh* 'and *Danes*; but afterwards his Nobles ſuffer'd 'much. Then it was decreed that Sixty-two 'Ships ſhould be paid, to every Rower of the 'Ships Eight Marks.

* Sax. *An.*

* *Simeon* of *Durham* very much enlarges upon theſe Affairs.

* Hiſt. de Geſtis Regum Anglorum, *Pag.* 108.

'*Harold* being dead, the Nobles of almoſt all 'England ſent Ambaſſadours to *Hardecnute* at '*Bruges*, where he then was with his Mother; 'and thinking they did very well, entreated 'him to come and take into his Hands the Scep- 'ter of the Kingdom. He arriv'd before *Mid- 'ſummer* with Sixty Ships, well Mann'd with *Da-*

Chap. VI. ‘ *Daniſh* Soldiers; there was an Univerſal Jo
‘ and he was advanced to the Throne: But
‘ the Time of his Reign did nothing worthy
‘ the Royal Power. At the very Beginning
‘ it he was mindful of the Injuries which h
‘ Predeceſſor, King *Harold*, (his ſuppos'd Bro
‘ ther) had done, either to himſelf or his Mo
‘ ther. He ſent *Alfrick*, Archbiſhop of *Yor*
‘ Earl *Godwin*, *Styr* his *Major-Domo*, *Edrick*, hi
‘ Steward, and other Perſons of Quality, wit
‘ *Troud*, the Executioner, to *London*. He com
‘ manded them to dig up the Body of *Harol*
* Gronna. ‘ and throw it into the Marſh, [which was a
‘ bout *Weſtminſter*]. After this was doue, h
‘ gave further Orders, that it ſhould be take
‘ from thence, and caſt into the River *Thames*
‘ It was not long before a Fiſherman took it up
and brought it ſpeedily to the *Danes*, who in
‘ terr'd it with Honour in a Burying-place the
‘ had at *London*, ſince call'd St. *Clement's Danes*.
‘ After this he commanded, that out of all
‘ *England* there ſhould be given ro every Rowe
‘ of his Navy Eight Marks, and to every Ma
‘ ſter of the Veſſel Twelve, ſo heavy a Tax tha
‘ hardly any Body was able to pay it. This
‘ made him as much hated, as at his Firſt com
‘ ing he was belov'd. Beſides, for the Death
‘ of his [Half] Brother *Edward*, by the Accuſa
‘ tion of *Alfrick*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and others,
‘ he was in a great Rage againſt Earl *Godwin*,
‘ and *Living*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

But next Year we meet with greater Taxes, which caus'd a Sedition, and drew the King into bloody Reſolutions againſt his impoveriſh'd Subjects.

* Sax. *An.* ‘ **Ann.* 1040. This Year there was a Tribute paid
‘ of 21099 *l.* and afterwards 32000 *l.* to the
‘ Ships 11048. We

Chap. VI.

We have a more full Account of this Transaction from *Simeon* of *Durham*, * 'That *Hardecnute*, King of the *English*, sent his Domesticks through all the Provinces of his Kingdom to Collect the Tribute which he had impos'd. Two of them, *Feader* and *Turstan*, were Slain by the Citizens of *Worcester*, when they had fled into an upper Room of the Tower in the Monastery to save themselves from the Tumult upon the 12th of *May*. The King was enrag'd at their Death, and sent the Earl *Thuri* of *Middle England*, *Leofrick* of *Mercia*, *Siward* of *Northumberland*, and *Roni* of the Parts about *Wales*, and almost all his * Domesticks with a great Army, commanding that, if they could, they should Kill all the Men, Plunder and Burn the City, and lay Waste the whole Province.

* Sim. Dunel. ad An. 1041.

* Huscarlæ.

'They arriv'd there upon the 12th of *November* in the Evening, and begun to destroy the City and Country, which continued for Four Days; but they took and slew very few of the Citizens or Provincials, because their coming being known, they had fled from all Parts of the Country. A Multitude of the Citizens got together into a little Island situated in the midst of the River *Severn*, call'd *Beverege*, and having made a Fortification, Manfully defended themselves from their Enemies, till they had obtain'd a Peace, and had Liberty to return Home. Upon the 5th Day, the City being burn'd, they all came loaden with Plunder, and the King's Wrath was appeas'd.

We

Chap. VI. We are told alſo of other Taxes which th
King raiſed upon his Subjects, to make Proviſio
for his Family; which were none of the ſma
eſt, being ſo great a Lover of good Chee

* Knighton. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. '* There were in the Second Year of his Reig
'28000 *l.* ſet apart for the Expences of th
'King's Entertainment; and at length a gre
'multitude of fat Cattle. He was ſo Exper
'ſive, that he had Four Meals a Day provide
'for his Family. But we muſt now come to hi
Death, which ſurpriz'd him in the midſt of th
Jollities of his Life.

* Sax. *An.* '* *Ann.* 1041. This Year King *Hardecnut*
'died at *Lambith* upon the 8th of *June*. H
'was King over all *England* Two Years wantin
'18 Days, and was buried in the Old Monaſter
'at *Winchester*, where his Father *Canutus* lay

The Circumſtances of his Death are thus mor
largely related by *Simeon*. '* King *Hardec*

* Sim. Dun. ad An. 1042. '*nute* was at a Banquet which *Oſgod Clapa*,
'Great Man, made when he Married his Daugh
'ter *Githa* to a Powerful *Dane*, call'd *Toa Pru*
'*dan*, at *Lambith*. The King was Jolly, and i
'good Health, very Merry with the Bride; an
'as he ſtood drinking with the Company, ſud
'denly fell upon the Ground, and remain'd
'Speechleſs till he died.

He did not only Oppreſs his *Engliſh* Subject
with Taxes, but allow'd the *Danes* to Inſul
over them with intolerable Pride; which wa
even a greater Vexation than Poverty: But above
all, the debauching of the *Engliſh* Women, who
have been renown'd all over the World fo
their Chaſtity, rais'd ſuch an Odium againſt
that Nation, as put a full Period to their Go-
vernment here. We have a very Particular Ac-
count of this.

'* *Har*

Ch. VII.

'* *Hardecnute* upheld the *Danes* in such domineering, that every Inn in the Kingdom had a Lord *Dane*, [a *Lurdan*,] and Master over all the Guests that came to the House; whereby they had Opportunity of Debauching, the Wives, the Daughters, the Servants of the *English*: Besides, they would Treat them with the greatest Scorn and Contumely. * If a *Dane* met an *Englishman* at a Bridge, the *Englishman* must not stir a Foot till the *Dane* was pass'd over: And if the *English* did not bow their Heads in Respect to the *Danes*, whenever they came near them, they were sure to be soundly box'd and bang'd for their Neglect.

* Knighton. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 6.

* Bromp. *Pag.* 934.

These Provocations stirr'd up the *English* immediately upon the Death of *Hardecnute*, '* to get a great Army together, which was called *Howner*, from one *Howne*, who first gave the Advice, and was their Leader: They slew the *Danes*, and shamefully drove them out of *England*.

* Knighton. *ibid.*

In Commemoration of this Triumph the *English* do at this Day in many Places, particularly at *Oxford*, Meet and Dance: They draw Cords cross the Street, and stop Passengers till they have given them Money to be Merry upon the Occasion; * which is called *Hock-tide*, and *Hock-tuesday*, the Day that *Hardecnute* died, and is derived from the *Dutch Hoogh-tiid*, or *High-time*.

* Skinner's *Lex. in voc.*

Though this Revolution might be begun by the *Mob*, it was carried on and compleated by all the Great Men of the Kingdom, as we find it in one of our Ancient Chronicles.

Chap. VI.

* Bromp. Chron. *Pag.* 934.

'* After the Death of King *Hardecnute*, who 'left no Children, all the Great Men of the '*Engliſh* came, and treated together: They De-'creed in their Publick Council, and con-'firm'd it with an Oath, That in Time to 'come no *Dane* ſhould Reign over them in '*England*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Normans.

THE *Normans* are a People who took their Name from their Situation in the Northern Part of *Europe*, according to * Mr. *Camden*. 'Theſe *Normans* were ſo called of 'the Northern Quarter or Climate from whence 'they came: For *Nordmans* be nothing elſe but 'Men of the *North*: In which Senſe alſo they 'are named *Nordleudi*, that is, a *Northern* Peo-'ple, (for a mixt Nation they were of the moſt 'Valiant *Norvegians*, *Swedens*, and *Danes*.) In 'the Time of *Charles the Great*, [the *Weſtern* Emperor in the Year of our Lord 800,] 'they 'practis'd Roving and Piracy in ſuch Cruel 'manner about *Friſia*, *Belgica*, *England*, *Ireland*, 'and *France*, that when the ſaid *Charles the* 'Great ſaw their roving Ships in the *Mediter-'ranean* Sea he ſhed Tears abundantly, and 'with a grievous Sigh ſaid, *Heavy I am at the* 'Heart that in my Life-time they durſt come 'upon this Coaſt: And I foreſee what Miſ-'chief they will Work hereafter to my Poſte-'rity. Yea, and in the Publick Proceſſions and 'Litanies of Churches this afterwards was ad-'ded to the reſt: *From the Rage of* Normans 'Good *Lord deliver us*.

* Bitar. *Pag.* 144.

Thus they were taken in a large Senſe for all the Pirates of the *North*: But our Concern now is with thoſe who planted themſelves in that Part of *France*, which from them has

Ch. VII. been called *Normandy*; whom we find distinguish'd from the *Danes*, though they usually had them in their Company.

* Radulf. de Diceto. *Pag.* 451.

'* *Ann.* 882. The *Normans* being led by '*Rollo*, and having the *Danes* join'd with them, 'rambled over *France* and *Lorain*; they laid 'Waste *Artois*, *Cambray*, *Turnay*, the Borders 'of *Picardy*, and the Country about the River '*Scheld*. Afterwards entering the Mouth of 'the *Sein*, they besieged *Roan*.

If we thus distinguish them (as Authors often do) from the rest of the Northern Rovers, we must take them particularly for the Inhabitants of *Norway*: Either the remainders of the Old *Scythians*, who went into *Ireland*, or those *Goths*, that came into their Seats. Those *Scythians*, who were forc'd to seek their Fortunes in Northern Seas, whilst the *Romans* guarded the Channel, would no doubt be glad (now that Empire was Sunk) to Sail upon the Neighbouring Coasts, where the Countries afforded a richer Plunder, and the Sea was not so Spacious as to discourage the Mariners, who as yet had arriv'd at no great Skill.

But 'tis more probable that these *Normans*, who came from *Norway*, were of *Gothish* Original, because we find those planted in *France* to have the same Form of Government, Monarchs with Parliaments, as the *Goths* in all the other Nations of *Europe* had, where they planted themselves. So that in reality the *Normans* were only another Edition of those *Saxons* and *Danes* who were Inhabitants here before: Only coming from that Part of *Scandinavia*, which was more North, they might be something more Rough and Furious: But then they had 200 Years Time to soften their Tem-

Temper in *France* before they came over into this Iſland. Ch. VII.

Our Author *Ralph*, Dean of *London*, ſeems to date the Arrival of *Rollo* in *France* much too early; we ſhall therefore rather take the Account of this Revolution from Monſieur *Mezeray*, who with very great Judgment and Exactneſs has digeſted the Hiſtory of that Country: And gives us ſome Matters of Importance, which were previous to the prevailing of the *Normans* there.

'* *Ann.* 885. *Godfry* the *Norman* was Duke 'of *Friſia*: He beginning a Quarrel with *France*, 'was invited by the Emperor *Carolus Craſſus* to 'a Conference at an Iſland in the *Rhine*, where 'he was Maſſacred with all his *Normans*. 'The Fury of the *Normans*, which began to 'be allay'd, burſt out again upon this Bloody 'Treachery, and made moſt horrible Work un-'der *Sigefroy*. They entered the *Sein* with 700 'Barks, and ſo great a Number of Veſſels, that 'the Stream was cover'd with them for above 'Two Leagues in length. The City of *Paris*, 'ſeated on an Iſland, having Bridges on either 'Branch of the River, put a Stop to this For-'midable Fleet: But the *Barbarians*, who 'would needs have the Paſſage through the Ri-'ver Free, held it Beſieged Three Years. But 'it was well defended by the *Pariſians*, whoſe 'Courage was greater than their City. The 'Emperor came in Perſon to Relieve them, but 'was forc'd to uſe Gold rather than Steel to 'drive out theſe Robbers: He came to a Com-'poſition with them, importing, that for 700 'Pound Weight in Silver they ſhould go out 'of *France* in the Month of *March*; that in the 'mean Time they might Winter about *Sens* in

* Mezeray's *Hiſtory of France*, *Pag.* 155.

Ch. VII. 'the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, where thoſe Trouble-
'ſome Gueſts ſtaid about Six Months.

'*Ann.* 889. *Godfry* and *Sigefroy*, Chiefs or Kings
'of the *Normans*, ſhipp'd a Levy of 100000 Men,
'raiſed in *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*:
'They entered the *Meuſe* with 90000, leaving
'10000 to Guard their Veſſels. *Arnold*, Em-
'peror of *Germany*, paſſes the *Rhine*, and with
'his whole Force ſeeks them in their very
'Camp, which was cloſe by the *Meuſe*, and
'forc'd them with ſo much Fury, that he utterly
'routed them, their Dead Bodies made a Bridge
'quite croſs the River, and the Flood was ſwol-
'len with the Blood of the Barbarians.

Such was the Succeſs of thoſe *Normans*, who had planted themſelves in the *North-Weſt* Part of *Germany*: They had plunder'd *France*; they were provok'd by a Maſſacre till they were hir'd to be gone: Which ſet a ſad Example to *England* to deal with the *Danes* by Money, and not by Steel; nor could our Maſſacre here be got over, till the Kingdom it ſelf became the Price of the Blood that was ſhed. The Check they receiv'd from the Emperor *Arnold* ſeems to have ſtopt their Fury for ſeveral Years: But then our Hiſtorian proceeds to give us an Account of a New Captain who was ſeeking his Fortune in the more Southern Countries of *Europe*, and gain'd a more laſting Dominion in *France*, than the *Danes* had here in *England*.

* Mezeray. '* *Ann.* 897. *Rollo*, one of the moſt Conſi-
'derable Leaders of the *Normans*, after he
'found he could no nothing in *England*, where
'he had tried to Land; being alſo advertis'd by
'a Dream or Viſion, ſteer'd his Courſe towards
'*France*, and puts in at the Mouth of the *Sein*:

'Pro-

'Probably call'd in by *Charles the Simple*, who Ch. VII.
'turn'd every Stone to Ruin his Rival *Eudes*,
'King of *Weſt France*.

'*Ann.* 911. *Rollo*, the great Captain, did by 'little and little make himſelf Familiar and 'Friendly with *Franco*, Archbiſhop of *Roan*: 'Upon his Entreaties he had Twice or Thrice 'granted a Truce. The Deſign of that Vertu-'ous Prelate was to Convert him: *Rollo*'s was 'to attain the Sovereignty, and of the Head 'of thoſe Pirates to become a Legal Prince. 'The *French* Lords had much ado to ſuffer ſuch 'a Stranger to be ſettled thus in the beſt Coun-'try of the Kingdom: But the People, ſo 'long and ſo often tormented by their Plun-'derings, cried out to them to put a Period to 'their Miſeries. Beſides, *Robert*, Earl of *Pa-'ris*, who aſpir'd to the Monarchy, deſir'd he '[*Rollo*] might remain in that Station, to 'have his Aſſiſtance in Time of Need.

'For theſe Reaſons *Charles the Simple* made 'a Truce with him, during which he pro-'pounded to him to give him in Propriety, and 'with the Title of a Dutchy, that Part of '*Neuſtria* between the Sea, the River of *Sein*, 'and *Epte*, which falls into the *Sein*, with his 'Daughter *Giſly* in Marriage, if he would be 'Converted, and Embrace Chriſtianity. Upon 'theſe Conditions *Rollo* was Catechis'd, and 'receiv'd Holy Baptiſm upon *Eaſter*-Eve, *Anno* '*Chriſt.* 912.

'Thus this Province, which the *Romans* call'd '*Lugdunenſis Secunda*, was diſmembred from 'the Propriety of the Kings of *France*, but not 'from their Sovereignty, and according to the 'Name of its New Inhabitants took that of '*Normandy*.

Ch. VII. Though this Name might be given to any People that came from the *North*, yet thoſe Parts being at that Time divided into diſtinct Kingdoms, it is very probable that *Rollo* and his Company came from that Country which is properly called *Norway*, and was neareſt the Denomination of *Normandy:* They might join with other Rovers, but thoſe that were the Principal in the Expedition would carry the Name. We Read in the *Saxon* Annals, *An.* 994. That *Anlaf* and *Swain* were Two diſtinct Kings; and though *Anlaf* himſelf, after he became a Chriſtian, left off a Pyratick Courſe of Life, yet it might be purſued by his Heathen Subjects, and this great Duke might eaſily get a Fleet of Adventurers to go with him into the richer Countries, ſince it was the great Trade of thoſe Parts of the World. Indeed we have an Account *An.* 1028. that *Canutus*, King of *England* and *Denmark*, did Subdue *Olave*, King of *Norway*, and added that Kingdom to his Dominions; yet ſtill they always were reckon'd as diſtinct Countries, and the Diſtinction between *Norway* and *Denmark* remains to this Day, though they are under the ſame King.

We are no further concern'd with the *Norwegians* than as they were planted in *France*, from whence they came over hither; and as ſuch our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have taken Care to Preſerve their Memory; which ought to be done ſo here, becauſe they have for ſo many Generations in a Lineal Deſcent been in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*. After *Rollo* was ſettled in *Normandy*, we find he very much enlarg'd his Dominions in other Parts of *France*, though his People being ſurrounded with their Enemies, his Succeſſors could not long keep Poſſeſſion of them.

* *Ann.*

Ch. VII.

'* *Ann.* 913. They maſter'd *Bretagne*, plan-
'ed themſelves in other Parts of *France*, and
'after their Settlement drew in freſh Swarms
'from *Denmark* and *Sweden*. But to proceed
'with the Succeſſion.

Mezeray's *Hiſt. Fran. Pag.* 163.

'* *Ann.* 917. *Willielmus longa ſpata*: *William*
Long-Sword ſucceeded *Rollo* in the Dutchy of
Normandy. *Ann.* 942. He was ſlain by the
Baſeneſs and Treachery of *Arnulph*, Earl of
Flanders; which came thus to paſs: When
Arnulph had got the Caſtle of *Herlwin*, Earl
of *Ponthieu*, betray'd to him, he ſent away his
Wife and Children to [*Edmund*,] King of
England. *William* Duke of *Normandy* pitying
his Condition, rais'd ſome Men, and retook the
Caſtle: Some of the Soldiers he found in it
he ſlew, others he reſerv'd as Hoſtages, where-
by he might obtain the Reſtoration of *Herl-*
win's Lady. *Arnulph* was enraged at this,
and inviting *William* to a Treaty at *Pinchin*,
there murder'd him. * *Brompton* ſays that
this was done by the Treachery of *Lewis*, the
Son of *Charles*, King of *France*. He further
adds, that the Nobility of *Normandy* were in
ſo great a Commotion at this, that they took
King *Lewis* himſelf, and kept him Priſoner in
Roan, till he promiſed to Reſtore *Normandy*
to *Richard*, the Son of the ſaid *William*, and
that hereafter in every Conference between the
King of *France* and Duke of *Normandy*,
the Duke might be girt with his Sword, but
the King ſhould have neither his Sword nor
Knife about him.

* Rad. de. Dicet. *Pag.* 453.

* Chron. *Pag.* 856.

'From *Rollo*, the Firſt Duke of *Normandy*,
who at his Baptiſm was called *Robert*, obtain'd
the Country call'd *Normandy* from the *French*
King, and held the Dukedom 30 Year, does

'the

Ch. VII. 'the *Norman* Nation derive its Original.
'*Rollo* did his Son *William* Succeed, and
'vern'd that Dutchy 15 Years. To Duke W
'*liam* Succeeded his Son *Richard*, a You
'Man; he presided over it 53 Years. He ca
'to the Dutchy through great Difficulties, a
'Marrying a Noble *Danish* Lady *Gaynora*, h
'Five Sons and Three Daughters, the first
'which was named *Emma*, the Gem of N
'*mandy*, who was Married to *Ethelred*, King
'the *English*.

'Duke *Richard* was call'd the Fearless;
'did many Things that were very Extraordina
'It is reported of him that he would ne
'pass by a Church without going in and sayi
'his Prayers: And if the Doors were shut
'would Pray in the Porch.

One of his Adventures is thus related, whi
may indeed demonstrate the Opinion Peop
had of his Sanctity, though it sufficiently e
poses the Folly of the Age.

* Bromp. *Pag.* 857. '* It happen'd that a Monk of St. *Audoen*
'in *Roan*, going over the Bridge in the Nig
'to make a Private Visit to a Lady, fell into t
'Water, and was drown'd: There was a gre
'Contention between the Angels and the Dev
'for the Soul of this Man, but it was agre
'on both sides to stand to the Arbitration of th
'Duke. His Judgment was this, that the Man's
'Soul should be restor'd to his Body, and he be
'plac'd upon the same Bridge from which he
'fell; then if he would pursue the Sin he was
'going to commit, the Devils should have him;
'but if he desisted, he should be sav'd. As
'soon as this was done the Monk fled to the
'Church, to which when the Duke came in the
'Morning he found the Monk's Cloaths still
'wet,

et, and gave an Account of it to the Ab- Ch. VII.
ot.

But there is another Relation in his Time that
e a more certain Determination in a very
nsiderable Point of Juſtice.

'* *Ann.* 945. *Richard* was Duke of *Normandy*. * Rad. de
A Diſſention being riſen among the Princes, whe- Dicet. *Pag.*
ther the Son's Sons, after their Fathers were 454.
Dead, ſhould Inherit the Eſtates of their
Grandfathers who were Living? Or whether
the Sons of thoſe Fathers being Diſinherited,
the Eſtate ought to go the Uncles? It was
the Opinion of the [Emperor] *Otto*, and all
the Princes, that the Determination ſhould be
made by a Sword-combat. The Victory fell
to thoſe that maintain'd that the Sons of thoſe
Brothers [Deceaſed] ſhould Inherit, as well
as if the Fathers were Alive.

'*Ann.* 995. Died *Richard* I. Duke of *Nor-*
mandy, the Son of *William*, Son of *Rollo*, his
Son *Richard* II. Succeeded him: * He con- * Brompt.
tinued Duke 30 Years, and for his extraordi- *Pag.* 880.
nary Goodneſs was called *Richard the Good*.
He was Devout in ſerving God, Diſcreet in
Worldly Affairs, Liberal even to Profuſeneſs.
[He was Brother to *Emma*, the Mother of
Edward the Confeſſor and *Hardecnute*.]

'* *Ann.* 1026. *Richard* II. Duke of *Nor-* * Sim. Du-
mandy, died, and his Son *Richard* III. Suc- nelm. *Pag.*
ceeded him. After he had been Duke One 177.
Year he died, to whom Succeeded his Brother
Robert. He went as a Pilgrim to *Jeruſalem*
in the Seventh Year of his Dukedom, and
died in *Bithinia*. * Before he undertook this * Brompt.
Perigrination, he being deſirous to Reſtore his *Pag* 912.
Kinſman the Holy *Edward* to the Kingdom of
England, put to Sea, but was long detain'd at
the

Ch. VII. 'the *Iſle of Guernſay* by contrary Winds, a
'return'd back to *Normandy*: Then taking
'Journey to *Jeruſalem*, in his return he died
'the City of *Nice*.

But before this the Affairs of *England* a
Normandy were link'd together, ſo that for u
derſtanding the following Hiſtory it will
Neceſſary to look back upon that Relation, I
tereſt and Acquaintance, which had been b
tween the Two Nations, and did conduce to t
bringing about that great Revolution of t
Norman Conqueſt.

* Sim. Dun. Pag. 155. '* *Ann.* 941. *Richard* I. or the moſt Ancien
'took upon him the County of *Normandy*, an
'held it 52 Years. He was the Son of Ea
'*William*, whoſe Father was *Rollo*, Firſt Duk
'of the *Normans*.

After his Death *Ethelred*, King of *England*
Married his Daughter *Emma*, Siſter of *Richard* II
then Duke, as we find the Date.

* Sax *Annal.* '* *Ann.* 1002. In the Time of *Lent*, the
'Lady [*Emma*,] Daughter of *Richard*, came in-
'to this Land. But after [Ten Years,] when
Swain, King of *Denmark*, had got Poſſeſſion of
almoſt all *England*.

'*Ann.* 1013. King [*Ethelred*] tarried a while
'with his Fleet in the *Thames*, and his Queen
'retired over Sea to her Brother *Richard*: After
'*Chriſtmas* the King alſo ſail'd to *Richard*, and
'continued with him till *Swain* was Dead.
After this, and that his Son *Canutus* had got
full Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*,
'*Ann.* 1017. The King commanded that [*Em-*
'*ma*,] the Relict of his Predeceſſor King *E-*
'*thelred*, the Daughter of *Richard*, ſhould be
'brought over to him, and he would Marry her.
Thus ſhe became Queen of *England* again.

But

But then after the Death of *Canutus*, her Son-in-law *Harold*, whom he had by his Firſt Wife *Algiva*, Succeeding to the Crown, the Settlement was made, 'Ann. 1036. That *Emma*, the Mother of *Hardecnute*, ſhould Live at *Winchester*, with the Domeſticks of her Son [*Hardecnute*, King of *Denmark*,] that ſhe ſhould Poſſeſs all *Weſt Saxony*, where Earl *Godwin* ſhould be Commander in Chief. Ch. VII.

Upon this her Two Sons which ſhe had by King *Ethelred* came over to make her a Viſit; one of which loſt his Life here, and the other (who was afterwards our Famous King *Edward the Confeſſor*) narrowly eſcap'd with his Life. Of which we have this Account.

'* *Ann.* 1036. The Innocent *Clitos Alfred* and 'Edward, the Sons of *Ethelred*, heretofore King, 'came out of *Normandy*, where they had 'ſtaid a long Time with their Uncle *Richard*; 'and having many *Norman* Soldiers with them, 'arriv'd with a few Ships, to have ſome Con-'verſation with their Mother, who reſided 'there. Which ſome Great Men took very ill; 'who, though unjuſtly, were more devoted to 'Harold, and principally (as 'tis ſaid) Earl 'Godwin. Accordingly when he had Com-'manded *Alfred* to make haſte to *London*, that 'he might Diſcourſe with King *Harold*, he 'clapt a Guard upon him, and made him cloſe 'Priſoner. Some that bore him Company he 'put in Chains, he put out the Eyes of others. 'Some he tormented by fleying the Skin off 'their Heads, cutting off their Hands and Feet; 'many of them he Sold. At *Guilford* he put 'no leſs than 600 Men to ſeveral Miſerable 'Sorts of Death. When *Elgiva*, [*Emma*,] heard 'this, ſhe diſpatch'd in all haſte her Son *Ed-*

* Sim. Dunelm. *Pag.* 179.

'ward

Ch. VII. ‘ *ward* (who was then with her) back into N
‘ *mandy*. Then by the Command of Earl G
‘ *win*, and ſome others, the *Clito Alfred* was c
‘ ried faſt Bound to the *Iſle of Ely*. So ſo
‘ as the Veſſel came to Land, before he left
‘ he had his Eyes moſt cruelly put out, and w
‘ carried to be kept by the Monks in their M
‘ naſtery, where he ſoon after died.

The *Saxon* Annals acquaint us, that in the ne
Year 1037. ‘ *Elfgiva*, [*Emma*,] ‘ the Reliƈt
‘ King *Canutus*, Mother of *Edward* and *Ha*
‘ *decnute*, was expelled, and upon her Petiti
‘ was allow'd by *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*,
‘ Reſide at *Burges*. She did not think fit to
turn into *Normandy*, for it was juſt about t
Time that Duke *Robert* died in his Pilgrimag
his Infant Son *William* (afterwards the Conqu
ror) advanced to be Duke, was under the Tut
lage of the King of *France*, and that Country
ſome Confuſion.

* Sax. *Ann.* ‘ * *Ann.* 1039. *Harold* dies: *Hardecnu*
‘ comes to *Sandwich*, and is preſently received f
‘ King, both by the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. He fal
ſeverely upon Dead *Harold*, and all thoſe th
had a Hand in dealing ſo cruelly with his Mo
ther and half Brother *Alfred*: But *Godwin* th
moſt Guilty eſcap'd, and knew how like a tru
Politician to fall upon his Legs. He flatter'd
and preſented a Luxurious Prince, till he wa
made again a Great Miniſter of State. For w
are told that ſoon after he came to the Crown

* Brompt. *Pag.* 933. ‘ * he recall'd his Mother *Emma* into *England*, who
‘ was baniſh'd by *Harold*, and that he commit
‘ ted the whole Kingdom to be managed by her
‘ and Earl *Godwin*'s Councils. Not only th
Mother, but alſo her *Saxon* Son, came ‘ *Ann.* 104
(which was the Second Year of his Reign)
‘ *Edward*,

ward, the Son of *Ethelred*, came into this King- Ch. VII.
m from *Wealland*, i. e. *Normandy*. Perhaps ſo
'd from * *Waleſdune*, where the King of * Hunting-
nce overthrew the *Norman* Nobles, when don, *lib.* 6.
ſettled *William* in the Dukedom after their *fol.* 209.
bellion.

We muſt now conſider how the *Norman* Af-
ns ſtood under the Reign of *Edward the Con-*
ſor, who was a Religious Prince, but of a
y eaſie and timerous Nature; ſo that in his
ime we ſhall find many Turns from one In-
reſt to another, by which we may underſtand
e Intrigues relating to the Succeſſion of *Wil-*
am the Conqueror: What Hopes he had, and
ow they were diſappointed, till he won the
ingdom by his Sword. If we purſue the Se-
ies of Hiſtory, we ſhall find in the firſt Place
hat the *Danes* would have recover'd their Do-
minion here, but they being utterly diſappointed,
he *Norman* Intereſt began to riſe, which grew
ery great by the King's Inclinations and Obli-
gations to them in the Time of his Exile, till
he *Engliſh* not enduring the Prevalence of Fo-
reigners, baniſh'd them; and then the Ballance
being wavering between the undoubted Right of
the Heir of King *Edmund Ironſide*, and the Po-
tency of Earl *Godwin*'s Sons; which laſt pre-
vail'd to the Overthrow both of themſelves and
the *Engliſh* Succeſſion, that at laſt the Crown
fell entirely into the Hands of the *Normans*.

'* *Ann.* 1041. *Hardecnute* died at *Lambeth*: * Sax. *An.*
'Before he was buried all the People choſe
'*Edward* for King at *London*. The moſt agree-
able Account of Affairs at this Time is given us
* by *Malmesbury*, who tells us, that though *Ed-* * De Geſt.
ward was upon the Spot, yet his Fears were Reg. Angl.
much greater than his Hopes of coming to the *Pag.* 45.
Crown.

Ch. VII. Crown. For hearing of the Death of *Hardecnut* he was uncertain what to do, and knew n which way to turn himſelf; amidſt a great va riety of Conſiderations he reſolv'd at laſt commit his Fortunes to Earl *Godwin*. H firſt ſent to him, and deſired a Conference fo ſettling a good Correſpondence between them The Earl was a great while in doubt whethe he ſhould ſo far comply with him, and di only juſt not refuſe. Upon this *Edward* cam to him, and was ready to fall down at his Feet giving him an Account of the Death of *Har decnute*, and entreating his Aſſiſtance for a ſaf Retreat into *Normandy*, which would oblig him to make the moſt grateful Acknowledg ments.

Godwin raiſes him up, and tells him how much more Glorious it would be for him to Live in the Enjoyment of Empire, than to die Ignominouſly in Baniſhment. 'That 'he ſhould remember he was the Son of 'Ethelred, the Grand-Son of *Edgar*; that he 'had a Right to the Kingdom: His Age 'was now Mature; he had been refin'd by 'Labours, knew how to govern exactly, and 'by his own former Sufferings to Relieve 'the Neceſſities of the People. As for him- 'ſelf he was ſure his Authority was great 'in *England*: Which Way ſoever he took 'he ſhould turn the Scale: That no Man 'durſt Oppoſe whenever he thought fit to 'Aſſiſt.

Godwin then proceeded to make a Solid Friend- ſhip with him; enter'd into an Agreement that his Son ſhould Enjoy the higheſt Honours, and that *Edward* ſhould Marry his Daughter *Edith*. In Concluſion, he told him, that he who thought his

his Life in Danger, and as a baniſh'd Man was imploring the Aid of another, might in a ſhort time ſee himſelf King. Which was preſently after accompliſhed. Ch. VII.

Edward could not have been in ſuch Fears, had he not ſeen a great Intereſt oppoſite to him, under which he was in Danger of ſinking; the Principal Maintainer whereof was this *Godwin*, to whom he makes his Addreſs, that he might be deliver'd from the Danger.

The *Danes* were indeed generally hated by the *Engliſh*, and the Mob was raiſing Tumults againſt them; but all the Power was in their Hands at the Death of *Hardecnute*; and if that had met with ſo powerful a Head as Earl *Godwin*, who had married a *Daniſh* Lady, the popular Fury might have been quell'd, and *Edward* dealt withal like his Brother *Alfred*. But a Politician's principal *Intereſt* is his Maſter; the *Danes* could never make him and his Family ſo great as *Edward* had promiſed: If he could now make his Daughter a Queen, he might afterwards make his Son a King. So that he does not only diſcard the *Daniſh* Intereſt, but ſuppreſſes all that might give it any Support.

The firſt Storm fell upon the Queen Dowager *Emma*, who being the Kings own Mother, might ſeem furtheſt from Danger. But to unriddle this, * *Malmesbury* tells us, that before *Edward* was King ſhe had been unkind to him, was never willing to gratify him in his Deſires: That ſhe would not beſtow any thing upon him out an Averſion to his Father *Ethelred*, whoſe Misfortunes, ſhe reckned were very much owing to his own Follies: But ſhe always admir'd her Second Husband *Canutus*, and prais'd

* Lib. 2. cap. 13.

Ch. VII. him both alive and dead. Beſides, that at th
Death of *Canutus* ſhe had all *Weſt Saxony* ſettle
upon her, to which ſhe was very probably re
ſtor'd by her Son *Hardecnute*, and now ſeems t
keep as her own, ſince the King is ſaid to hav
Admiſſion only into that Country upon Suffer
ance.

* Sax. *An.* ' * *An.* 1042. Afterwards [when the King
' was crown'd] he was permitted to ride over al
' thoſe Lands which his Mother held of him
' And he took from her whatſoever ſhe had o
' Gold or Silver, and a great deal more, be
' cauſe ſhe had been very hard to him.

After the King had got full Poſſeſſion of all his Dominions, he ſet himſelf to free the Nation of the *Daniſh* Intereſt, and Baniſhes the moſt Powerful Supporters of it; this we are told by *Simeon.*

Dunelm. *Pag.* 180. ' The Noble Matron *Gunilda*, Siſter o
' King *Canutus*, with her Two Sons *Hemung*
' and *Turkil*, were Baniſh'd out of *England*
' She retired firſt to *Bruges*, and then to *Den*
' *mark.*

Next Year we find the King had made Preparations, as expecting a Storm from the

* Sax. *An.* North. * ' *An.* 1043. The King went to
' *Sandwich* with 35 Ships. Our Monk enlarges
' upon the Occaſion, and tells us.

* Sim. Dun. *Pag.* 180. ' * It was againſt *Magnus*, King of *Norway*,
' Son of the Holy King *Olave*, who deſign'd to
' invade the King of *England*, but was diverted
' by an Invaſion at Home, which *Swain* King of
' *Denmark*, made upon him.

We have no Account of the Cauſe of this War, *Edward* was far from any Ambition to enlarge his Empire by encroaching upon his Neighbours; but 'tis poſſible that *Magnus* might be jea-

ealous of a King of *England*, ſince his Father *Olave* had by a Power from hence been depriv'd of his Kingdom. However it was, *England* was at this time deliver'd from the War, and *Swain* paid the Reck'ning, for the Violence of which his Father *Canutus* was guilty. The Pious *Olave* loſt his Kingdom of *Norway* to *Canutus*, and his Son *Swain* loſes not only *Norway*, but his own Kingdom of *Denmark*, to *Magnus*, the Son of *Olave*. Ch. VII.

'* *Swain*, King of *Denmark*, ſent Ambaſſa- * *Ibid.*
'dors to *Edward*, King of *England*, and entreat-
'ed him to ſend his Fleet againſt *Magnus*,
'King of the *Norwegians*. Earl *Godwin* adviſ'd
'the King to ſend 50 Ships well mann'd with
'Soldiers; but this being contrary to the Opi-
'nion of Earl *Leofrick*, and all the People, he
'would ſend none. *Magnus* with a Numerous
'and Strong Navy ſets upon *Swain*, and af-
'ter many were Slain on both Sides, drove
'him out of *Denmark*, Reigned in his
'Kingdom, Compell'd the *Danes* to pay no
'ſmall Tribute, and ſoon after died. Upon
'which *Swain* Recover'd *Denmark*, and *Harold*
'*Harfager* Succeeding in *Norway*, Ambaſſadors
'came over, offering Peace and Friendſhip to
'King *Edward*.

Thus the Storms in the *North* were blown over, and happy was the Advice of that Excellent *Engliſh* Earl *Leofrick*; who, notwithſtanding *Godwin*'s *Daniſh* Inclinations, would not ſuffer the King to meddle with a War in which he was not concern'd. This gave Quiet to *England*; but that there might be no more making Parties here, *Oſgod Clapa*, at whoſe Wedding *Hardecnute* drunk his laſt, was obliged to quit this Nation.

Ch. VII.

'* *An.* 1043. King *Edward* Married [*Edith*
'the Daughter of Earl *Godwin*. Having thu
† Sax. *An.* fulfill'd his Promiſe, ſettled Peace at Home
and given a general Satisfaction to his *Engliſ*
Subjects, he lets looſe thoſe Affections to th
Normans, which were very much engaged t
them in the time of his Exile; he prefers them
and ſhews them all the Kindneſs they coul
expect.

* Sax. *Ann.* '*An.* 1048. King *Edward* at *London* Conſti
'tuted *Robert* [a *Norman*] Archbiſhop of *Can*
'*terbury*. And his Favours being well known
many came over to be Parrakers of them; a
mong whom one preſuming too far in a lawle
Behaviour, was the Occaſion of great Trouble
which were attended with Conſequences o
the higheſt Importance. 'Twas *Euſtace*, Ear
of *Eologne*, who had Married *Goda*, the King
Siſter, Mother to *Radulphus*, Earl of *Hereford*,
by her former Husband *Goda*. So great Inte-
reſt and Relation made him think to Lord it
here, as he did in his own Country, but the
Engliſh Nation could not bear it.

* Sax. *An.* '* *An.* 1048. *Euſtace* from the Parts beyond
'Sea preſently follow'd the Biſhop, [who re-
'turn'd from *Rome* with his Pall], and having
'diſpatch'd his Affairs with the King, was up-
'on his Way Home. He din'd at *Canterbury*,
'and ſet forward to *Dover*; when he was
'within a Mile of that Place, he and his Com-
'pany put on their Armour, and ſo enter'd the
'Town. Every one of them would take up his
'Lodging as he pleas'd; but one of them en-
'tring a Houſe, and being refus'd Entertainment
'there, wounded the Maſter of it, and in re-
'quital was Slain by him. Upon this *Euſtace*
'and his Company get on Horſeback, kills the
'Ma-

Maſter of the Houſe within his own Walls, and Twenty Men more, Part within, and Part without the Town; the Townſmen on the other ſide Slew Nineteen Men, and Wounded many more. *Euſtace* flying away with a few, return'd to the King, and told him what had happen'd. The King was very angry, ſent for Earl *Godwin*, and commanded him to go into *Kent*, and ſet upon *Dover* in an Hoſtile Manner; for *Euſtace* had told the King that the Townſmen were in the Fault. Tho' it was not ſo, and *Godwin* refus'd a Thing ſo odious as this would be, to deſtroy his own People. The King then called all his Nobles, and commanded them to meet at *Gloceſter* upon the Feaſt of St. *Mary*. Ch. VII.

'The *Welſh* had a little before this Built 'a Caſtle in *Hereford*ſhire, upon the Land of 'Earl *Swain*, (the eldeſt Son of *Godwin*) from 'whence they had done much Damage and Diſ-'grace to the King's Servants in the Neigh-'bourhood. Upon this came Earl *Godwin*, Earl 'Swain, Earl *Harold*, to *Beverſton* [in *Gloceſter-'ſhire*,] that they and many others might go to 'their Natural Lord, and the Nobles, who were 'aſſembled with him, that they might obtain 'Aid to revenge ſo great a Diſhonour done to 'the King and Kingdom. But the *Welſh* came 'firſt to the King, and accus'd the Earls, inſo-'much that they were forbid to come into his 'Preſence: For the *Welſh* maintain'd that thoſe 'Earls had Treacherous Deſigns upon the King. 'The King had with him Earl *Seward*, Earl 'Leofrick, and many more from the *North*; ſo 'that it was told Earl *Godwin*, and thoſe with 'him, that the King and his Council were en-'tring into Reſolutions againſt them. This put

Ch. VII. ‘ the Earls upon ſtrengthning themſelves, tho
‘ it ſeem'd odious to attempt any thing againſt
† Sax. *An.* ‘ their Natural Lord.

‘ Then it was decreed by the Nobles on each
‘ Side to abſtain from doing any Damage: The
‘ King gave the Peace of God, and declar'd his
‘ Friendſhip to both Parties. After this the
‘ King decreed a Second Council of all the
‘ Nobles ſhould be held at *London* on the Au
‘ tumnal Equinox; and commanded that an
‘ Army ſhould be levied both *North* and *South*
‘ of *Thames*, which was the beſt he ever ye
‘ had. There Earl *Swain* was declared an Out
‘ law. Earl *Godwin* and Earl *Harold* were Ci
‘ ted to appear before the Council as ſoon as
‘ it was poſſible for them to arrive there. When
‘ they came, and were called into the Council,
‘ they deſir'd Peace, and that Pledges might be
‘ given them, that they might attend the Coun
‘ cil without any Hazard of Treachery. The
‘ King requir'd that thoſe Servants which the
‘ Earls had ſhould be deliver'd to him, and ac
‘ cordingly they were put into his Hands. Then
‘ the King ſent and commanded that they ſhould
‘ come to the Council with Twelve Men only.
‘ The Earl came, deſir'd Peace, and that Pledges
‘ might be given him; that he might proceed
‘ in clearing himſelf from all thoſe Crimes, of
‘ which he was accus'd. Pledges were denied,
‘ and a Peace of Five Days only allow'd, in
‘ which Time he was to leave *England*. From
‘ hence Earl *Godwin* and Earl *Swain* went to
‘ *Boſham* in *Suſſex*, where they took Ship, went
‘ over to *Baldwin*, [into *Flanders*], and tarried
‘ there all the Winter; Earl *Harold* went into
‘ the *Weſt*, from whence he paſs'd into *Ireland*,
‘ and

'and ſpent the Winter under the Protection of 'the King there. Ch. VII.

'After this the King diſmiſs'd the Lady '[*Edith*], who had been Crown'd Queen, per-'mitted all her Lands, her Gold and Silver, and 'other Goods, to be taken from her, and com-'mitted her to [the Cuſtody of the Abbeſs of '*Werewell*], her Siſter.

Here the *Saxon* Annals paſs over Three Years without mentioning any thing: But this was the time that the *Engliſh* Intereſt being extreamly jealous that *Godwin* impos'd upon, and would have domineer'd over their Sovereign King *Edward*, run themſelves off their Legs, and by purſuing their Reſentments too far, made Way for the *Norman* Party to carry all before them. This therefore was the Opportunity which *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, took to make a Viſit to King *Edward* here in *England*, the Omiſſion whereof muſt be ſupplied out of the Monk of *Durham*.

'* *An.* 1051. This being done [*Godwin* and his Sons Baniſhed, and Queen *Edith* made a Priſoner], 'the *Norman* Earl, *William*, with a 'Multitude of *Normans* came into *England*. 'The King receiv'd him and his Company ve-'ry honourably, having largely and nobly pre-'ſented them, he took his Leave of them, and 'they return'd into *Normandy*. * Sim. Dunelm. *Pag.* 178.

The * firſt Hiſtorian we have after the Conqueſt informs us that King *Edward* kept the *Normans* a great while with him, carried them about the Country, ſhew'd them his Cities and his Caſtles, but parted with them without giving that Duke any Hopes, or ſo much as mentioning his Succeſſion in the Kingdom. Which * Ingulphus, *Pag.* 509.

Ch. VII. is the more obſervable, becauſe this Author was a great Friend to *William* I.

The next Year there was a very conſiderable Turn: The *Normans* were at firſt in Power and had Command of the Fleet, but by their unfortunate Management of it, fell under a Diſlike, and were laid aſide. After this, *Godwin* being ſucceſsful, the Tide was turn'd, the publick Odium run as ſtrong the other Way, and the *Engliſh* Nation was glad to get rid of the Foreign Power.

* Sax. *An.* '* *An.* 1052. This Year died *Elfgiva Emma*, 'the Mother of King *Edward*, and King *Hardecnute*. And this Year it was decreed by the 'King and his Nobles that Ships ſhould be 'ſent to *Sandwich*, that they ſhould be com-'manded by the Earl *Radulphus*, [*Euſtace*'s Son-'in-law,] and Earl *Odda*. In the mean time '*Godwin* leaves *Bruges*, comes with his Ships 'to *Yſera*, and from thence, about *Midſummer*, 'to the *South* Promontary of *Romny*. As ſoon 'as the Earls heard this at *Sandwich*, they went 'to purſue them with their Ships, and order'd 'the Land Forces to meet them. Earl *Godwin* 'having Notice of this, retir'd to *Pemſy*, but 'a very great Storm riſing, the Earls could not 'find him out. Afterwards *Godwin* return'd to '*Bruges*, and the other Ships to *Sandwich*.

'Then it was decreed that the Ships ſhould 'return to *London*, that other Earls and Com-'manders ſhould be ſet over them. But this 'was ſo long delay'd, that every Body forſook 'the Fleet, and return'd Home. When Earl '*Godwin* underſtood this, he preſently ſet Sail 'to the *Weſt*, and arriv'd at the *Iſle of Wight*. '*Harold* in the mean time came out of *Ireland* with

with Nine Ships to *Porlock-Bay*, [in *Somerſet-ſhire*,] where a Multitude of People were got together againſt him; but he fearing the want of Proviſion, went out and kill'd many of them, getting a great Booty in Priſoners, Cattle and Money. He ſail'd *Eaſt*, and join'd his Father; they both together came to the *Iſle of Wight*, and took what was left. They proceeded further *Eaſt* to *Dover*, where they landed, and took what Ships and Hoſtages they pleas'd; they did the like at *Sandwich*, and many other Places. They came about to *Northmuth*, [the *Buoy in the Nore*,] and ſo up to *London*. Ch. VII.

'When they came thither, the King and all the 'Earls, with 50 Ships, oppos'd them. The Out-'law'd Earls ſent to the King, entreating him 'that they might be thought worthy to be re-'ſtor'd to all thoſe Goods of which they had 'been unjuſtly depriv'd. The King refus'd it 'ſo long, till the Earl [*Godwin*'s] People were 'in ſuch a Rage that he could hardly reſtrain 'them. Then, by the Help of God, Biſhop '*Stigand*, and ſome Prudent Perſons, both with-'in and without the City, met together, and 'decreed that a Peace ſhould be confirm'd on 'both Sides by giving Hoſtages, which was 'done.

'So ſoon as Archbiſhop *Robert* and the *French-'men* found this, they took Horſe; part fled '*Weſt* to *Pentecoſt* Caſtle, [which was *Osbern*'s, 'ſurnam'd *Pentecoſt*,] and part *North* to a Ca-'ſtle of *Robert*'s. But Archbiſhop *Robert* and 'Biſhop *Ulf* went out at the *Eaſt* Gate, [*Algate*,] 'ſlew ſeveral young Men, and made their Way 'to *Neſſe* Point in *Eſſex*; where, as God would

'have

Ch. VII. ‘ have it, he left his Pall and his Prelacy; a
‘ Honour which he obtain'd againſt the Wi
‘ of God.

‘ Then a great Council was call'd withou
‘ the Walls of *London*, where all the Earls, an
‘ the moſt Noble Perſons in the Land, were pr
‘ ſent: In this Council *Godwin* clear'd himſel
‘ before the King and the whole Nation, main
‘ taining that he was Innocent of that Crim
‘ for which he, his Son *Harold*, and all his Sons
‘ had been accus'd. Upon this the King receiv'
‘ the Earl and his Sons into a full Friendſhip
‘ granted to him his Earldom entire, and what
‘ ſoever he formerly poſſeſs'd: He reſtor'd al
‘ ſo all that had been with him. And at thi
‘ time the King made a full Reſtitution to hi
‘ Queen (whom he had caſt off) of all that ſh
‘ formerly enjoy'd. But on the other Side, Arch
‘ biſhop *Robert*, and all the *French*, were entirely
‘ outlaw'd, becauſe they had blown up an Enmity
‘ between Earl *Godwin* and the King. Biſhop
‘ *Stigand* had the Biſhoprick of *Canterbury*.

* Sax. *An.* ‘ * *An.* 1053. This Year Earl *Godwin* died,
‘ and was buried in the Old Monaſtery at *Win-*
‘ *cheſter*. He juſt liv'd to ſee the Reſtoration
of himſelf and his Family to their Honour and
Power in *England*: For ‘ his Son *Harold* ſuc-
‘ ceeded in his Earldom, and all that his Father
‘ poſſeſs'd, and Earl *Alfgar* had the Earldom
‘ which *Harold* enjoy'd before. Theſe Two
Earls did as it were inherit the Animoſities of
their Fathers, who were the greateſt Miniſters
of State in King *Edward*'s time; but their Cha-
racter was very different: *Godwin* lov'd the
King for his own Sake, and always did that
which promoted his own Ambition: *Leofrick*,
the Father of *Alfgar*, was truly Loyal, and was
always

ways a Friend to the King ſo far as was con- Ch. VII.
ſtent with the Good of his Country, which
ould never be ſeparated from the King's real
tereſt. Accordingly we find him oppoſing
Godwin, when this Nobleman would controul
is Sovereign; but falling in with him again,
hen the *Normans* began to captivate the Royal
avour. The Steadineſs of *Leofrick* however could
ot be agreeable to *Godwin*, and that his * Son * Sax. *An.*
Alſgar took Poſſeſſion of *Harold*'s Earldom, when ad An.
he was outlaw'd, caus'd ſuch a Grudge as never 1048.
could be digeſted. At this time they were both
preferr'd, and each enjoyed an Earldom; but
within Two Years Envy broke out, and the leſs
powerful *Alſgar* loſt all he had.

'* *An.* 1055. A Convention of the Nobles * Sax. *An.*
'was called about the middle of *Lent*, where
'Earl *Alſgar* was outlaw'd, becauſe an Impeach-
'ment was brought againſt him that he was
'a Betrayer of his King and Country: He was
'convicted of this before all that were there
'aſſembled, which he took very ill, and would
'not ſubmit to. The King gave that Earldom
which *Siward* [lately deceas'd] had poſſeſs'd
to *Toſtig*, one of the Sons of *Godwin*.

'*Alſgar* went to a Caſtle of *Griffin*'s in *North-*
'wales; and in this Year *Griffin* and *Alſgar*
'Burnt the Monaſtery of St. *Ethelbert*, and the
'whole City of *Hereford*.

This Aſſembly was underſtood by the Anci-
ents to be managed entirely by the Power of
Factions, for *Simeon* gives us this Account of the
Sentence againſt Earl *Alſgar*, * *Rex Edvardus* * Sim. Du-
habito Lundoniæ Concilio, Algarum Comitem fi- nel. ad.
lium Leofrici Comitis ſine culpâ exlegavit. An. 1055.
King Edward *calling a Council at* London, *out-*
law'd Earl Alfgar, *the Son of Earl* Leofrick, *when*
he

Ch. VII. *he was faultleſs.* And an Earldom being give at that time to one of *Godwin*'s Sons, ſhews th then Prevalence of that Faction. This drew o a *Welſh* War, which made the King uneaſi and might put him in Mind that all theſe Trou bles aroſe for want of a certain determin'd Hei And accordingly we find him ſending for hi elder Brother's Son, who ſhould indeed hav come to the Crown before him.

* Sim. Dun. '* *An.* 1057. The *Clito Edward*, Son of King '*Edmund Ironſide*, as his Unkle King *Edward* 'had commanded him, came to *England* out of '*Hungary*, whither he had been baniſh'd many 'Years before: For the King had decreed to 'Conſtitute him the Heir of the Kingdom after 'him. But this Deſign was ſoon broke, for we read,

* Sax. *An.* '* *An.* 1057. This Year the *Clito Edward*, Son 'of King *Edmund*, came into this Land, and ſoon 'after died: He was Buried in the Monaſtery 'of St. *Paul* at *London*.

The *Welſh* War mightily rais'd the Power of *Godwin*'s Sons, and by a various Succeſs reſtor'd *Alfgar* again. The firſt who oppoſed the Invaſion from *Wales* was *Rodulph*, Earl of *Hereford*, who lay upon the Borders, and of whoſe Undertaking we have this Account.

* Sim. Dunelm. *Pag.* 188. '* *An.* 1055. The *Welſh* entred *England*, and 'waſted the Province of *Hereford*, againſt 'whom that timerous Commander *Rodolph*, 'Son of King *Edward*'s Siſter, gathering an Army, and meeting them Two Miles off the City *Hereford*, order'd the *Engliſh*, contrary to 'their Cuſtom, to fight on Horſeback. But ſo 'ſoon as the Battle was begun, the Earl with 'his *French* and *Normans* fled, which the *Engliſh* 'ſeeing, fled alſo, and followed their Leader.

Upon

Upon this the King commanded an Army to be Ch. VII.
rais'd all over *England*; they muſter'd at *Glo-*
ſter, and the King made the Stout *Harold*
their General. He purſued *Griffin* and *Alfgar*,
who fled into *South-Wales*: A Treaty was then
ſet on Foot, Peace made, and *Alfgar* reſtored to
his Earldom; and ſoon after Succeeded in that
of his Father's, as we find,

'* *An.* 1057. Earl *Leofrick* died, and his Son * Sax. *An.*
'*Alfgar* had the Earldom which his Father en-
'joy'd. He had the peaceable Poſſeſſion of it
but a very little while, though he was ſoon re-
ſtor'd, as we are told.

'* *An.* 1058. *Alfgar*, Earl of *Mercia*, was a * Sim. Dun.
'ſecond time outlaw'd by King *Edward*; but
'by the Help of *Griffin*, King of *Wales*, and a
'*Norway* Fleet, which came unexpectedly to
'him, was ſoon reſtor'd to his Earldom by Force.
This brought the King to comply with a Peace,
and gave a laſting Settlement to *Alfgar*; but
Griffin broke out into War again, though it
coſt him dear, as the *Saxon* Annals relate.

' *An.* 1063. This Year Earl *Harold*, and his
'Brother, Earl *Toſtig*, went into *Wales*, both
'with a Land Army and a Naval Force; they
'ſubdued the Country, the People gave them
'Hoſtages, and became obedient to them. Af-
'terward they ſlew their King *Griffin*, and
'brought his Head to *Harold*, who appointed
'another [to be King] there. *Simeon* adds,

'* *An.* 1064. The Head of *Griffin*, King of * Dunelm.
'the *Britains*, and the Head of his Ship, with *Pag.* 192.
'all its Garniture, was ſent to Earl *Harold*;
'which he preſented to King *Edward*: After
'this the King gave the Land of the *Britains*
'to his Brothers, *Blechgent* and *Rithwalan*:
'They took an Oath of Fidelity to the King and
'Earl

Ch. VII. ‘ Earl *Harold*, that they would be obedient
‘ them both by Sea and Land, and faithful
‘ pay all those Tributes which had been pa
‘ by former Kings out of that Country. Th
we find *Harold* almost King already.

But an Adventure here falls in, which thoug
it did not tie his Hands, was in the Opinion
many the great Cause of pulling the Crow
off his Head, when he had got it set on contr
ry to his most Solemn Obligations. 'Tis n
mention'd by the *Saxon* Annals, and there a
various Reports of it, but I chuse the Relatio
of *Simeon* of *Durham*, because he seems to hav
an Affection for Truth, and his Writings a
not stuff'd with such idle Tales as other Monk
delight in.

*Sim. Dun. *Pag.* 195. ‘ * There being a great Breach (as has bee
‘ said) between King *Edward* and Earl *Godwin*
‘ whereby the Earl with all his were Banish'd
‘ out of *England*, the King, when he sough
‘ for a Pacification, would by no Means gran
‘ that he should return Home, unless some Ho-
‘ stages were given, whereby he might be se-
‘ cur'd. Accordingly *Wulnoth*, the Son of Earl
‘ *Godwin* himself, and *Hacun*, the Son of his Son
‘ *Swain*, were given for Hostages, and put into
‘ the Hands of Earl *William*, the Bastard Son
‘ of *Robert*, who was the Son of *Richard* [the
‘ Second,] his Mother [*Emma*'s] Brother:
‘ These were to be kept in *Normandy*. After Earl
‘ *Godwin* was dead, his Son *Harold* desir'd Leave
‘ of the King to go into *Normandy*, that he
‘ might set his Brother and Nephew free, and
‘ bring them Home. The King told him that
‘ he was not for this Attempt, but he would not
‘ hinder him from going whither he pleas'd,
‘ and that he might try what he could do. Yet
‘ I

I foreſee that you run upon Miſchief to the whole Kingdom, and your own Reproach. I know well enough the Earl is not ſo void of Underſtanding as to grant them to you, unleſs he be aſſur'd beforehand of the great Advantage he may make thereby.

Harold takes Ship, by a violent Tempeſt is driven into a River of *Ponthieu*, call'd *Maia*, and ſeiz'd upon as a Captive by the Lord of the Country. *Harold* promiſing a great Reward, ſends one privately to the Earl of *Normandy* to acquaint him what had happen'd. He ſends preſently to the Lord of *Ponthieu* that he ſhould diſmiſs *Harold* and all his Men, or forfeit the Friendſhip that was between them. When this would not do, he let him know that *William*, Earl of *Normandy*, would come arm'd, and ranſack *Ponthieu* to the laſt Farthing, if he did not immediately let *Harold* go. Being thus terrified, he diſmiſſes *Harold* and his Company, who were very honourably received: And having an Account of his Buſineſs, he anſwer'd, that it ſhould be his own Fault if it did not ſucceed well. He treated him kindly for ſome Days, that his Mind might be more pliable to the Propoſals which were to be made to him. At length he open'd himſelf.

'He ſaid, that when King *Edward* had his Reſidence in *Normandy*, they being both young Men, he did engage his Faith, and promis'd him that if he came to be King of *England* he would transfer the Hereditary Right of the Kingdom to him: And added, if you will now engage to aſſiſt me in it, to deliver up the Caſtle of *Dover*, with the Well of Water, to my Uſe, at convenient Time to ſend your Siſter

to

Ch. VII. ‘ to be married to one of my Princes, and th
‘ you will promiſe to marry my Daughter, I w
‘ preſently deliver your Nephew to you, a
‘ when I come to Reign in *England* y
‘ ſhall receive your Brother ſafe. In whi
‘ Kingdom, if I come to be ſettled by your F
‘ vour, you ſhall have from me whatſoev
‘ you can reaſonably ask.

‘ *Harold* ſaw the Danger in which he wa
‘ but knew of no Way to get off, unleſs he e
‘ tirely complied with all that *William* defir
‘ which accordingly he did. To make all ſur
‘ the Relicks of the Saints were ſet before the
‘ and he brought *Harold* to ſwear, taking theſe f
‘ Witneſſes to his Oath, that he would reall
‘ fulfil all he had promiſed. After this *Haro*
‘ took his Nephew, and return'd Home.

‘ Upon the King's enquiring what had hap
‘ pen'd, and what he had done, he told him al
‘ The King ſaid, *Did I not tell you that I kne*
‘ William, *and that by this Journey great Evil*
‘ *would fall upon the Kingdom? I foreſee th*
‘ *Calamities our Nation will ſuffer by this A*
‘ *of yours, but I beſeech the Divine Goodneſs*
‘ *to grant that they may not come to paſs in m*
‘ *Days.* Not long after King *Edward* died, and
‘ according to what he had determin'd before
‘ his Death, *Harold* Succeeded him in the King-
‘ dom.

This Adventure ſeems to have happen'd pre-ſently after the *Welſh* Wars were over, when all was quiet, and *Harold* at leiſure to take ſuch a Voyage. But ſoon after this there happen'd a Rencounter, whereby the King came to an Apprehenſion what Fatal Quarrels would afterwards happen, and *Harold* might ſee what he was to expect from his elder

Brother

Brother *Toſtig*. The Merits of the younger had made him be much preferr'd before the elder; this caus'd a Grudge, and then every frivolous Occaſion will give vent to Paſſion, which obſerves no Rules of Decency in its Outrage. Ch. VII.

'* The ſame Year [that King *Griffin* was 'kill'd,] it happen'd that when *Harold*, the 'Son of *Godwin*, preſented the Wine to the 'King at *Windſor*, his elder Brother *Toſtig* 'finding that *Harold* was moſt affectionately 'lov'd by the King, catch'd hold of his Hair, 'they ſo pull'd and cuff'd one another in the 'Royal Preſence, as eaſily diſcover'd their En-'vy and Hatred. The King then foretold that 'their Misfortune and Deſtruction approach'd, 'and that the Wrath of God would make no 'long Delay.

* Bromp. Chron. *Pag.* 948.

'*Toſtig* went away from the King and his 'Brother in ſuch a Rage, that making haſte 'to *Hereford*, where his Brother was preparing a 'Royal Entertainment for the King, he ſur-'priz'd the Servants of the Family, cut off 'their Heads, and Arms, and Legs, and threw 'them into Veſſels of Wine, Meath or Ale, 'which were provided for the King's Drink-'ing. Inſolently ſending Word to Court that 'they need not take Care for Salt Meats and 'Pickles, there was enough of that Sort; but 'other Proviſions they would do well to bring 'along with them. The King for ſuch a hor-'rible Wickedneſs baniſhed him at leaſt from 'the Court. The *Northumbrians* (whoſe Earl 'he was) hearing this, caſt him off. The fur-ther Account of which we may take from the *Saxon* Annals.

Ch. VII.

'*An.* 1064. This Year the *Northumbrians* 'got together, and outlaw'd their Earl *Toſtig*; 'they kill'd all the Officers of his Court that 'could be met with, whether *Engliſh* or *Danes*; 'they ſeiz'd all his Arms that were in *York*, 'his Gold and Silver, and all his Treaſures 'where-ever they could be found. Then they 'ſent for *Morker*, the Son of Earl *Alfgar*, and 'choſe him to be their Earl. He march'd 'South, with all the Forces of that Province, 'and of *Nottinghamſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, and *Lin-* 'colnſhire, till he came to [*North*] *Hamp-* 'ton, where his Brother *Eadwin* met him 'with what Men he brought from his Earl- 'dom: There were alſo many *Britains* that 'came along with them. When Earl *Harold* 'met them, they preſented their Addreſs, and 'ſome Ambaſſadors, which they deſir'd might 'be ſent to the King: Their chief Requeſt 'was that they might have *Morker* for their 'Earl. This the King granted, and ſent back '*Harold* to them at *Northampton*, who ſo- 'lemnly confirm'd the Agreement, and renew'd 'the Laws of King *Canutus*.

This was not any Alteration of the *Engliſh* Law, for the Government of that Province, but a Confirmation of it: The *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Law here in *England* being the ſame, only the Penalties and Mulcts were different, as was moſt proper for each People. They had the ſame Common Law, which was briefly repeated in every Reign, ſo that it was not properly the Law of any Particular King, but of the Kingdom.

Though this Excurſion into the Affairs of *Godwin*'s Sons may ſeem ſomething Foreign to the Concerns of the *Normans*, yet they inform us how Things

Things then ſtood, and very much conduce to the better underſtanding of that great Revolution which follow'd. Ch. VII

At the beginning whereof *Toſtig* endeavour'd to pull down *Harold*, which was afterwards accompliſh'd by the *Norman* Duke. But in the mean time what became of *Toſtig* after he had loſt his Earldom the *Annals* proceed to inform us.

*'Earl *Toſtig*, his Wife and Friends, went 'South [from *Northumberland*] over Sea to 'Earl *Baldwin*, who entertain'd them all, and 'there they ſtaid the whole Winter. * Sax. *An.* ad An. 1064.

This * *Simeon* Places in the Year 1065, and makes the Death of King *Edward* to follow preſently after. '*Toſtig* and his Wife went to '*Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, and ſpent the Winter at St *Omers*. *Morker* was pre-elected Earl 'of *Northumberland* by command of the King. 'After this King *Edward* grew ſick by little and 'little. * Dunelm. *Pag.* 193.

'At *Chriſtmas* he held his Court [his Parliament] at *London* as well as he could: 'He alſo Dedicated upon the Day of the Holy '*Innocents* that Church which he had built 'from the very Foundation to the Honour of 'St. *Peter*, the Prince of the Apoſtles, with great 'Glory. Much the ſame is ſaid by the *Saxon* 'Annals.

'* *An.* 1066. This Year the Monaſtery of '*Weſtminſter* was Conſecrated upon the Feaſt of '*Innocents*; and King *Edward* died upon the 'Eve of *Epiphany*; he was buried upon the Day 'of *Epiphany* in the Church at *Weſtminſter*, 'which had been newly Conſecrated. * Sax. *An.*

We ſhall here proceed without any Interruption of the *Saxon* Annals, which give a

Ch. VII. short but substantial Account of the whole Revo-
lution, and may be depended upon as the Foun-
dation, whatsoever Enlargements shall be after-
wards added.

'Then Earl *Harold* took upon him the King-
'dom, as the King had granted to him, and al
'chose him to it: He was Consecrated King
'upon the Feast of *Epiphany*: He held it Fort
'Weeks and One Day. The same Year he wa
'made King he went with a Naval Army
'against *William*: In the mean time Ear
'*Tostig* arriv'd in *Humber* with 60 Ships; bu
'Earl *Eadwin* coming with a Land Army drove
'him from thence, and the Seamen revolted
'from him. Then he went to *Scotland* with 1
'Ships, where *Harold*, King of *Norway*, me
'him with 300: When *Tostig* had submitted
'himself to him, they both entred the *Humber*,
'and went on till they came to *York*. Ear
'*Morker* and Earl *Eadwin* fought with them,
'but the King of *Norway* got the Victory.
'An Account of what was done being given to
'King *Harold*, he came with a great Army of
'*English*, and met him [the King of *Norway*]
'at *Staenfordesbrycge*, [*Battle-brigg* in *York-*
'*shire*] slew him and Earl *Tostig*, and valiantly
'routed the whole Army.

'In the mean time Earl *William* Landed at
'*Hastings* upon *Michaelmas* Day, and *Harold*
'coming out of the North, fought with him
'before his whole Army was got together, so
'that he was there Slain, and his Two Brothers
'*Gyrth* and *Leofwin*. *William* subdued this
'Land, went to *Westminster*, and Archbishop
'*Ealdred* crown'd him King. Then the *Eng-*
'*lish* paid Tribute to him, gave Hostages, and
'redeem'd their Lands. Which *Simeon* Com-

ments

Ch. VII

'ments upon adding ſome things worth taking 'Notice of.

'* *Edward* being buried, his Lieutenant [*Sub-* * Dunelm. 'regulus*] *Harold*, the Son of Duke *Godwin*, ad An. 'whom the King had choſen before his deceaſe 1066. 'to be Succeſſor in the Kingdom, was choſen by 'the Princes of all *England* to the Regal Height, 'and the ſame Day honourably Conſecrated 'King by *Aldred*, Archbiſhop of *York*.

'The ſame Year, upon the 24th of *April*, a 'Comet appear'd, which is reported to have been 'ſeen over the whole World, and to have blaz'd 'for a Week's time.

'Not much after Earl *Toſtig* returning out 'of *Flanders*, arriv'd at the *Iſle of Wight*, after 'he had compell'd the Iſlanders to pay Tri-'bute; he went and plunder'd the Coaſts till he 'came to *Sandwich*.

'King *Harold*, who continued at *London*, 'hearing of it, commanded a ſmall Fleet, and 'an Army of Horſe, to be got together: He 'himſelf prepares to go to the Port of *Sandwich*. 'When this was told *Toſtig*, he took the Sea-'men with him, ſome willingly, and ſome 'unwillingly, and went to the Coaſts of *Lin-'coln*, where he burnt ſeveral Villages, and 'kill'd many Men. Upon report thereof, 'Edwin, Duke of *Mercia*, and *Morker*, Earl of 'Northumberland, fly thither with an Army, and 'drive him out of the Country.

'From thence [*Toſtig*] went to *Malcolm*, King 'of *Scots*, and ſtaid with him the whole Sum-'mer. King *Harold* comes to the Port of *Sand-'wich*, and there expected his Fleet. Which 'being rendezvouz'd, went to the *Iſle of Wight*, 'And becauſe *William*, Earl of the *Normans*, 'King *Edward*'s Coſin, had made Preparations

Ch. VII. ‘ to come with an Army into *England*, he dis-
‘ pos'd of his Foot Army in Opportune Places
‘ upon the Sea Coasts. The Nativity of the
‘ Holy *Mary* [*September* 8.] approaching,
‘ and Provision beginning to fail, the Fleet and
‘ Foot Army return'd Home.

‘ *Harold Harvager*, [who for Distinction
sake had that Name from a good Head of
* Skiner's Lexicon. * Hair] ‘ King of *Norway*, Brother of the Holy
‘ King *Olave*, with a very strong Fleet of above
‘ 500 Ships unexpectedly arriv'd at the Mouth
‘ of the River *Tine*: Earl *Tostig* joins him
‘ with his Ships, as he had before agreed, and
‘ making all the Sail they could, entred the
‘ Mouth of the River *Humber*; then Sailing up
‘ the *Ouse*, Landed at *Richal*, and after a Bloody
‘ Fight took *York*.

‘ As soon as this was come to the Know-
‘ ledge of King *Harold*, he in all haste moves to-
‘ wards *Northumberland*. But before the
‘ King arriv'd there, the Two Brothers, *Edwin*
‘ and *Morkar*, came with a great Army upon the
‘ Eve of St. *Mathew* the Apostle, [being *Septem-
ber* 20,] ‘ to the North Bank of the River *Ouse*,
‘ and gave Battel to the *Norwegians* at *Ful-
‘ ford* near *York*. At the first Onset they fought
‘ Valiantly, and slew many; but after the Con-
‘ test had continued long, the *English* were not
‘ able to bear the Force of the *Norwegians*:
‘ However, they retir'd without much Loss,
‘ and there were many more of them Drown'd
‘ in the River, than Slain in the Battle. The
‘ *Norwegians* were Masters of the Field, who
‘ taking 500 Hostages from *York*, and leaving
‘ some of their own there, return'd to their
‘ Ships.

‘ Upon

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'Upon the 7th of the Calends of *October*, 'being the 26th Day of *September*.] *Harold*, 'King of the *Engliſh*, came to *York*, with ma-'ny Thouſand Soldiers well Arm'd, and met the '*Norwegians* at a Place call'd *Stanfordbriege*, '[upon the River *Darwent*, in the Eaſt-riding of '*Yorkſhire*.] He ſlew King *Harold* [*Harfager*] 'and Earl *Toſtig*, with the greater Part of the 'Army, and had a Compleat Victory, though 'moſt obſtinately contended for. He permitted '*Olave*, [*Harfagar*'s] Son, and *Paul*, Earl of '*Orkney*, who had been left with Part of the 'Army to guard the Ships, freely to return 'Home with 20 Ships, and the Relicts of their 'Forces, having firſt taken Oaths and Hoſtages 'of them.

'When this was done, the King thought all 'his Enemies ſubdued, but it was then told 'him, that *William*, King *Edward*'s Coſin, and 'Earl of *Normandy*, with an innumerable 'Multitude of Horſe, Slingers, Archers, and 'of Foot, were arrived: That he had hired 'the ſtrongeſt Auxiliaries in all *France*, and 'that his Navy lay at *Pevenſy*. The King 'preſently march'd his Army in great haſte to-'wards *London*: And though he well knew 'the Stouteſt Men of all *England* had fallen in 'the Two Battles, and that half his Army was 'not yet come up, he did not for all this fear 'to meet as ſoon as poſſible his Enemies in '*Suſſex*: Nine Miles off *Haſtings*, where 'they had fortified a Caſtle, he join'd Battle 'with them upon the 11th of the Calends of '*November*, [being *October* the 22d.] before the 'Third Part of his Army could be brought into 'Order. Becauſe the Place where the *Engliſh* 'Forces were drawn up was too ſtreight, many

Ch. VII. ‘ withdrew out of the Army, only a few Reſo
‘ lute Men continued with him. Yet he moſt
‘ valiantly withſtood his Enemies from Nine
‘ Clock in the Morning to the Dusk of the Even
‘ ing, and ſo Stoutly defended himſelf, that th
‘ aſſailing Troops could hardly kill him. Bu
‘ alas! When many had fallen on both Sides
‘ he himſelf fell as it began to grow dark
‘ His Brothers *Gyrth* and *Leofwin*, and moſt o
‘ the Nobles of *England*, were alſo Slain. Ear
‘ *William* return'd with his Man to *Haſtings*
‘ *Harold* reign'd 9 Months and as many Days
‘ His Death being known, the Earls *Edwin* and
‘ *Morker*, who had with their Men withdrawn
‘ from the Battle, came to *London*, and ſent the
‘ *Harold*'s Siſter Queen *Aldgith* or *Edith* to the
‘ City of *Cheſter*. But *Aldred*, Archbiſhop o
York, the Earls, with the Citizens of *London*,
‘ and the Seamen, reſolv'd to advance the *Clito*
‘ *Edgar*, the Grandſon of *Edmund Ironſide*, to
‘ be King, and under him they promiſed to
‘ Fight. When many had provided for it, the
‘ Earls withdraw their Aid, and return'd Home
‘ with their Forces.

‘ ‘ In the mean while Earl *William* waſted
‘ *Suſſex*, *Kent*, *Hampſhire*, *Surrey*, *Middleſex*,
‘ *Hertfordſhire*, never left burning Towns and
‘ killing Men till he came to *Beorcham* [*Berk-*
‘ *hamſted* in *Hertfordſhire*,] there Archbiſhop *Al-*
‘ *dred*, *Wulſtan*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Walter*, Bi-
‘ ſhop of *Hereford*, the *Clito Edgar*, the Earls
‘ *Edwin* and *Morker*, and all the moſt Noble of
‘ *London*, with many others giving Hoſtages,
‘ ſurrendred themſelves to him, and Swore Allegi-
‘ ance. The Feſtival of *Chriſtmas* drawing near,
‘ he went with all his Army to *London*, that
‘ he might be there advanced to be King.

‘ And

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'And becauſe *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was accuſed of not receiving Canonically the Pall from an Apoſtolick Pope, he was honourably crown'd upon *Chriſtmas* Day by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*. Having firſt, as the Prelate requir'd, promiſed with an Oath at the Altar of St. *Peter*, before the Clergy and People, that he would defend the Holy Churches of God, and their Governours, that he would govern all the People Subject to him with Juſt and Regal Care, that he would make and maintain Righteous Laws, and entirely reſtrain all Rapines and unjuſt Judgments.

Before this Revolution took Place, there were ſeveral Overtures made by *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, to *Harold*, when he was advanced to the *Engliſh* Throne: He ſet forth his Pretenſions, and claim'd the Performance of thoſe Promiſes which had been made to him. *Harold*'s Anſwer to the Ambaſſadors we have by a very good Author, though not ſo Ancient as *Simeon*.

*'My Siſter, whom you demand, according to the Agreement, is dead: But that I may not be judg'd to have violated my Oath, the Earl, if he pleaſes, may have her Body, ſuch as it now is. I have finiſhed the Caſtle of *Dover* and the well of Water in it; though, as yet, I know not for whom.

* Rad. de Dicet. *Pag.* 481.

'The Kingdom, which was not at that time mine, by what Right could I either promiſe or give it? If he inſiſts upon his Daughter [*Ala*,] whom he aſſerts I ought to Marry; he muſt know, that I ought not to bring a Woman that is a Foreigner, and ſet her over the Kingdom of *Emgland*, without conſulting the

'Princes,

Ch. VII. ‘ Princes, nor can I do it without a grand
‘ jury.

‘ Having receiv'd this Answer, he sends
‘ him again with a friendly Familiarity, th
‘ omitting all the rest he should at least ke
‘ the Faith of his Espousals, and Marry h
‘ Daughter, otherwise he might undoubted
‘ know, that, by the Power of his Arms,
‘ would Vindicate the Promise made to him
‘ the Succession of the Kingdom. But *Haro*
‘ replied, that he would neither do the on
‘ nor fear'd the other.

This last offer is *Verbatim* in * *Simeon* of D
ham, but it is very observable that none of the
Ancient Authors make the least Mention of t
Kindred between *William* and *Edward the Co*
fessor, or of the Will by which the *Norman*
said to claim. But this is so remote a Rel
tion, that those who understand it will no
suppose it can give any thing of a Title.

* Pag. 196.

* Rad. de Dicet. *Pag.* 461.

*‘ King *Ethelred* married *Emma*, call'd, in th
‘ *Saxon* Language, *Elfgiva*, the Daughter o
‘ *Richard* I. Duke of *Normandy*, by whom h
‘ had *Edward the Confessor*. *William the Con*
‘ *queror* was indeed the Great Grandson of tha
Richard I. But this Relation was very far off
and besides, never the least touch'd upon th
Saxon Line, to give it any shadow of Pretence to
the Crown of *England*. Nor has the Will o
Edward the Confessor any more Foundation, fo
our Ancient Authors do not only omit the Men-
tion of it, but declare the contrary: * The
Saxons Annals say, that upon his Death, *Tun*
Haroldus, Comes capessit regnum, sicut Rex ei
concesserat. *Then Earl* Harold *took the King-*
dom as the King had granted to him. Which
is confirmed by * *Simeon* of *Durham*, speaking

* Ad *An.* 1966.

* *Pag.* 193.

of

e Subjects Grief when they loſt their good Ch. VII.
ing *Edward.*

Quo tumulato, Subregulus Haroldus God-
ini *ducis filius, (quem ante ſuam deceſſionem,*
egni ſucceſſorem elegerat, (à totius Angliæ
rincipibus ad regale culmen electus, die
adem ab Aldredo *Eboracenſi Archiepiſcopo in*
egem eſt honorificè conſecratus. He being
ried, Harold, *the Son of Duke* Godwin, *who*
overn'd under him, (whom before his deceaſe
he King had choſen to be the Succeſſor of the
Kingdom) was choſen by the Princes of all Eng-
land *to the Regal Advancement, and the ſame*
Day with Honour crown'd King by Aldred, *Arch-*
biſhop of York.

Beſides that the whole Current of Hiſtory runs another Way. After the Inſolence of the *Normans*, and the Dangerous Diſturbances they had made in the *Engliſh* Nation, *Anno* 1057. the *Confeſſor* ſent for *Edward*, the Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, to be his Heir, and his Thoughts were wholly remov'd from *Normandy*. Indeed he did not afterwards take the True *Engliſh* Heir, *Edgar Atheling*, the Son of that *Edward*, becauſe he found that Prince was too Weak a Foundation for a Settlement, and *Harold* alone was Powerful enough to ſupport the Nation. What Wrong was done muſt be imputed to the Timerouſneſs of this Pious King; but 'tis certain he did not only aim at ſetting up *Harold*, but was very much troubled at his Voyage into *Normandy*, which he thought would prove prejudicial to this Deſign; and therefore a Will to Conſtitute Duke *William* his Heir might be an Invention to ſerve a Turn afterwards, but could never be any Act of his.

Our

Ch. VII. Our Ancient Authors give us neither th Number of the Forces, nor of the Slain at th decisive Battle between *William* and *Harold* however they came afterwards to be known but as to the Day they are very Particular; whic is very considerable, if we from hence Collect the Power, the Valour, the Expedition of ou *English* Armies. * In the Summer 1066, *Ed win* and *Morker*, Two *English*, Earls drove *Tosti* and his Forces out of *Lincolnshire*: Afterward they fought him and the King of *Norway*, who came with a Royal Army and Royal Navy o 500 great Ships at *York*. Upon their being bea ten *September* 20th, *Harold* comes up with a Southern Army, and gains an entire Victory upon the 26th of *September*; which might very well fatigue the whole Strength of *England*. But after this they were presently to engage the Bravest Army that could be raised in *France*; they must march 200 Miles too meet the Enemy: This they did in a Month's time from the 26 of *September* to *October* 22d. And then, though the Two Great Earls did not engage with their Forces, the Field of Battle being too streight, and not above a Third Part of the Army fought, yet from Morning to Night Victory did not discover which Side she would take, till the *English* King fell, and left the Body of his Army without a Head.

* Sim. Dun. Pag. 194.

This may be said in Honour to those that fought for their Country, and would have preserv'd the Laws and Liberties of *England* from the Invasion of a Foreigner; but after the Two Earls *Edwin* and *Morker* had withdrawn their Forces, were return'd to *London*, and had engaged with the Clergy and Citizens to set up

Ed-

Ch. VII.

Edgar Atheling, their undoubted King, that they ſhould deprive them of their Aid, and go Home with the Army, *auxilium ab eis retraxere, & cum ſuo exercitu rediere*, without ſtriking one ſtroke, is certainly moſt inexcuſable: The Fault muſt lye upon them, and not upon the Clergy and Citizens. For what could be done by thoſe who were Bred up to Religion and Trade, when thoſe who were alone able to meet an armed Conqueror had withdrawn themſelves? Our Authors have nothing to ſay, but that they did it out of fear. * *Ducis* Williel-mi *timore invaleſcente, paulatim à promiſſis reſilierunt: The Terrour of Duke* William *prevailing, they did by little and little ſtart back from their Promiſes.* If Fear had thus poſſeſs'd the Men of Arms, it follows that the Nation lay expos'd to the Invader, and there was no poſſibility of reſiſting a Revolution, which the Divine Providence with an over-ruling Power had thus brought to paſs.

* Bromp. Chron. Pag 961. Knighton. de eventibus Angl. *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

It may be very well ſuppos'd that the Reader ſhould be pretty much tir'd with ſo many dry Quotations of Authors of the Middle Age, who wrote neither with Intrigue nor Ornament, and therefore by way of Refreſhment here ſhall be added * Sir *William Temple*'s Account of this *Norman* Revolution, who with great Elegance of Stile, and Freedom of Thought, makes every thing he writes extremely entertaining.

* *Introduction to the Hiſtory of* England. Pag. 102.

'Duke *William*, after the end of his Wars 'with *France*, had turned his Thoughts to the 'Common Arts and Entertainments of Peace, 'regulating the Abuſes of his State, and the 'Diſorders introduc'd by a long Couſe of Wars 'and Violence, adorning his Palaces and Houſes 'of Pleaſure, building Churches and Abbeys, and

Ch. VII. ‘ and endowing them with great Bounty
‘ Piety. After which he made a Journey
‘ *England*, where he was received and en
‘ tain'd by King *Edward* with the ſame Ki
‘ neſs himſelf had found in the *Norman* Cou
‘ for which, like a good Prince, he was mu
‘ pleas'd to make this Return of Gratitude
‘ well as Juſtice. In this Viſit 'tis ſaid by ſo
‘ Authors that the Duke gain'd ſo far upon
‘ Eſteem and Kindneſs of the King, that
‘ then renew'd to the Son in *England*
‘ Promiſe he had formerly made the Father
‘ *Normandy*, of leaving him the Crown by Te
‘ ment, in Caſe he died without Iſſue.

‘ Sometime after the Duke's return, *Haro*
‘ Son to Earl *Godwin*, and Heir of his gr
‘ Poſſeſſions and Dependencies in *England*, w
‘ forced by a Storm (as he at leaſt pretende
‘ upon the Coaſts of *Normandy*; and to
‘ freſh himſelf after the Toils and Dangers of
‘ Sea Voyage, went firſt to the *Norman* Cou
‘ and after ſome Stay there to that of *Fran*
‘ and was in both entertain'd like a Perſon know
‘ to be of ſo great Conſideration and Power
‘ *England*. But his laſt Viſit at *Paris* w
‘ thought deſign'd only to cover the true Inte
‘ tion of his firſt in *Normandy*; where he e
‘ gag'd to aſſiſt that Duke, with all his Friend
‘ and Forces, in his Claim to the Crown of *En*
‘ *land* upon King *Edward*'s Death: Which happe
‘ ing not long after, *William* Claimed the Crow
‘ by Vertue of a Teſtament from that King, an
‘ of an Engagement from *Harold*: But he o
‘ the contrary denied any ſuch Teſtamen
‘ from the deceaſed Prince, alledged an A
‘ pointment made by him at his Death for *H*
‘ *rold* to ſucceed him, diſown'd any Promiſe mad
‘ in

in Favour of the Duke, and making the beſt Uſe of the Credit and Authority gained by his Father and himſelf, in a Crazy and Diſeaſed State, during the Soft Reign of a Weak, though Pious, King, *Harold* ſet up boldly for himſelf, without any Reſpect of Right, beyond the Peoples Submiſſion, (interpreted for their Conſent) and was elected King by thoſe Nobles and Commons of his Friends, or indifferent Perſons, who aſſembled at his Coronation, leaving to *Edgar Atheling* an undoubted but yet unregarded Right of Succeſſion, and to *William* a diſputed Plea, from the alledged Teſtament of the deceaſed King. Ch. VII.

'The Duke, fond of thoſe Ambitious Hopes 'he had framed early, and nouriſhed long, 'and ſpighted at the Perfidious Dealing of *Ha*'rold towards him, and his Inſolence towards 'the *Engliſh* Nation, in ſeizing the Crown and 'Government, againſt all Juſtice, or ſo much as 'Pretence of Right, (which is commonly made 'uſe of to cover the moſt Lawleſs Actions) 'aſſembles his States of *Normandy*, expoſes 'to them his Claim to *England*, the Wrong 'done him by *Harold*, his Reſolutions of proſe'cuting both with his utmoſt Power, the 'Glory as well as Juſtice of the Enterprize, 'the Hopes of Succeſs from his own Right, 'and the Hatred in *England* of the Uſurper, 'as well as the Friends and Intelligences he 'had in that Kingdom, the Greatneſs of Spoils 'and Poſſeſſions by the Conqueſt of his Ene'mies, the Share he intended his Friends and 'Followers, according to each Man's Merit, 'and Contribution towards the Advancement 'of his Deſigns.

'Though

Ch. VII. 'Though the generality of the *Normans*
'this Assembly, were not at first very mu
'moved by these Discourses, as either doubti
'the Right or Success of so hazardous an A
'venture; yet they could not Discourage wh
'they were unwilling to Promote, since th
'found the Prince had it so much at Hear
'who prevailed with several of the greate
'Bishops and Nobles of *Normandy* to ma
'him a voluntary Offer of what Moneys, Me
'and Ships they would each of them furni
'towards this Enterprize, as well as of the
'own Personal Attendance upon him, in so N
'ble and Just a Design.

'This Free and Magnanimous Offer of th
'greatest among them in some degree spirite
'not only the rest of the Assembly, but ha
'much Influence upon the People in genera
'who grew Confident of the Success from th
'Greatness and Boldness of the Undertakers, f
'as they fell into Emulation who should e
'gage sooneſt, and Contribute furtheſt upo
'this Occasion.

'The Duke, assisted to his Expectation by hi
'Subjects, began to Practise upon the Hope
'and Ambition of his Neighbours, who Wear
'of so long Quiet they had liv'd in at Home
'since the Part they had taken in the *French*
'and *Norman* Wars, began to grow fond o
'some New Action, and to look out for New
'Adventures.

'The Duke had gain'd and deserv'd so high
'Esteem and general Reputation by the Wise
'Conduct of his Government, both in Peace
'and in War, by his Justice and Bounty, his
'Valour and his Clemency, that he was Re-
'nowned not only among his Subjects and his

'Neigh-

Neighbours, but in the Remoter Regions of *Germany* and *Italy*, and found a Concurrence in this Design from many Princes, his Friends, and some who had been his greatest Enemies; he was favour'd and assisted with Money or with Soldiers by the Dukes of *Britain* and *Brabant*, the Counts of *Bologne* and *Flanders*, and his Ancient Competitor the Duke of *Anjou*: By many Princes of *France*, the most considered in that Court, as the Duke of *Orleance*, Earls of *Poitou* and *Maine*, excited by the Honour of the Enterprize, or Fame of the Leader, at a Time when the Infancy of their King gave them no Hopes of Action at Home, and left that Crown unconcern'd in what pass'd Abroad. The Emperor sent some choice Troops, and experienc'd Commanders, to Serve in this Expedition; and the Pope, induced by the Fame of this Duke's great Virtues, and Piety in the whole Course of his Reign, which had now lasted above Forty Years, sent him a Banner he had Blessed, with several Relicks, and thereby was esteemed, according to the Devotion of those Times, to have justified his Title, and even sanctified his Arms. Ch. VII

'With all these Advantages this Brave Duke began and finished his Mighty Preparations, by a General Concurrence of his own Nobles and Subjects, and a Confluence of most of the Bold, Adventurous, Spirits in his Neighbour Provinces, led by the Desires of Glory, or of Gains; the Princes trusted his Faith and his Promises, which he had never forfeited; the Knights and Soldiers relied upon his Valour and his Fortune, which had never failed in the long and happy Course of his Reign.

Ch. VII.

'What the Number was of the Army
'brought over into *England* is not distinct
'related, or well agreed; but muſt be co
'cluded to be very great, by that of the Shi
'wherein they were imbarked, which were b
'tween Eight and Nine Hundred: Beſides, th
'were all Choſen and Brave Troops, excellent
'Diſciplin'd, commanded by Gallant Officer
'ſtrongly united by the Love of their Princ
'and encouraged by the common Hatred of *H*
'*rold*, his Enemy, both at Home and Abroad
'A known Uſurper, Cruel in his Nature,
'*Daniſh* Extraction, and thereby Ungrateful
'the *Engliſh*, a Hater of his own Blood, a
'who had never Triumph'd but over his ow
'Brother; and by a Bloody Victory at *Sta*
'*ford* had loſt the Braveſt of his Troops,
'he had done before the Hearts of his Su
'jects.

'The Duke landed his Army at *Haſtings* i
'*Suſſex* about the beginning of *October*; an
'expecting a general Submiſſion of the *Engli*
'to his Right and Title, (pretended from th
'Teſtament of *Edward the Confeſſor*,) or th
'Deſertion of *Harold*, (as an Uſurper,) by hi
'own Army; he made at firſt no ſhew of inva
'ding a Hoſtile Country, but rather of Encamp
'ing in his own. Forbidding all Injuries to an
'of the Inhabitants; and all Spoil of th
'Country about him: And ſo continued wit
'his whole Army in a Quiet and Peaceable
'Manner for about a Fortnight, either to Re
'freſh his Troops, or expect how his Claim to
'the Crown, and Arrival upon it, would be
'receiv'd in *England*.

'But after this Time expir'd, he was ſoon
'rouz'd by the Approach of *Harold*, who re-
'turn'd

'turn'd from the Defeat of his Brother, and 'his *Daniſh* Aſſiſtants, with all the Forces he 'had Employ'd in that Expedition, and all he 'could Invite or Collect out of the Country 'as he paſſed. The firſt were Standing Troops, 'Numerous and Brave, which he kept for the 'Defence of his Perſon and Title, knowing 'that they were both generally hated in *Eng-* 'land. The laſt were ill Diſciplin'd, and worſe 'Affected, and ſerved only to encreaſe the 'Number of his Army, which was very great. Ch. VII.

'Upon Approach of his Enemies he ſent 'Spies into the *Norman* Camp, who were ta- 'ken, and courteouſly uſed by the Duke; car- 'ried through all his Troops, ſhew'd their 'Diſcipline and Diſpoſal, and ſent back with 'Rewards. At their Return they told *Harold*, 'that the *Normans* looked rather like an Ar- 'my of Prieſts, than of Soldiers, by their great 'Silence and Order in their Camp, as well 'as by their Faces being all Shav'd.

'Tis ſaid the Duke before the Battle ſent an 'Offer to *Harold* to Decide the Quarrel be- 'tween them by a ſingle Combat, and thereby 'ſpare their Subjects Blood; which *Harold* re- 'fus'd, and ſaid, he would leave it to God to 'Determine. Upon which, his Brother deſir'd 'him, that he would not be Preſent at the 'Battel, becauſe he had formerly Swore to 'Duke *William* to aſſiſt his Title upon King '*Edward*'s Death; and rather leave it to them, 'who had a juſter Cauſe, and ſhould Fight on- 'ly for the Defence of their Country, and with- 'out Breach of Oath. But the Courage of *Ha-* 'rold was more than his Conſcience, and ſo both 'diſpos'd their Armies for a pitch'd Battel next 'Morning; after the *Engliſh* had paſſed the

Ch. VII. ‘ Night in Songs and Feaſtings, and the *Nor*
‘ *mans* in much Devotion.

‘ The Fight began with great Fury, and e
‘ qual Bravery as well as Order on both Sides
‘ The *Engliſh* were cruelly gauled by thick
‘ Showers of Arrows from the *Norman* long
‘ Bows before the Battel join'd, which was a
‘ Weapon then unuſed in *England*, and thereby
‘ the more ſurprizing, by Wounds coming from
‘ Enemies ſo far out of Reach, and not ſudden-
‘ ly to be Reveng'd, But when they came up
‘ to cloſe Fight the *Normans* were hew'd down
‘ by the *Engliſh* Bills, which of all Weapons
‘ gives the moſt Ghaſtly and Deplorable Wounds.
‘ Beſides, their Points were ſo ſtrong, and ſo
‘ cloſe together, that no Charges of the *Norman*
‘ Horſe could break the *Engliſh* Ranks, tho'
‘ the Duke aſſaulted them ſo often, and with
‘ ſo great Bravery, that he had Three Horſes
‘ killed under him in the Attempt. But find-
‘ ing them continue firm, he at length by a Sig-
‘ nal cauſed a ſudden Flight to be feigned by
‘ his *Normans* that were moſt advanced: Up-
‘ on which the *Engliſh*, eaſily deceiv'd by their
‘ own Courage as well as Hopes, began ſuch an
‘ eager Purſuit, as by it they diſſolved their
‘ Ranks, that had been otherwiſe impe-
‘ netrable. Upon this Incident, before expected,
‘ and ſoon diſcover'd by the Duke, and upon
‘ another Signal given, the *Normans* returned
‘ with greater Fury than before, broke into the
‘ diſorder'd Body of the *Engliſh*, routed and
‘ purſued them to a riſing Ground, where their
‘ broken Forces made a Stand, fell again in-
‘ to Order, and encouraged by the Speeches,
‘ but more by the Brave Example of *Harold*,
‘ they renewed the Fight, and made a mighty
‘ Slaughter

'Slaughter of the *Normans*, as they endeavour'd 'forc'd them againſt the Diſadvantage of the 'Hill to which they defended. Ch. VII

'The Fierceneſs and Obſtinacy of this Memo-'rable Battel was often renewed by the Courage 'of the Leaders, where-ever that of the Sol-'diers began to Faint; till the *Normans* leaving 'the Aſſault of the Hill, too obſtinately de-'fended, and keeping a little diſtance, fell 'again to their Arrows, with one of which '*Harold* was Shot quite through the Head, 'and fell to the Ground; and by his Death 'gave the Victory and the Field to the *Nor-'mans*, which had hitherto continued Doubt-'ful on both Sides; and ſeem'd thus far to 'have been fought with equal Courage, and with 'equal Loſs. But the Flight of the *Engliſh* 'upon *Harold*'s Fall ſoon determin'd it, and 'was followed by a long and bloody Purſuit 'of the *Normans*, which continued till Night: 'And left mighty Numbers of the *Engliſh* Slain 'in their Flight, that had been ſafe in the 'Battel; and the reſt of them wholly diſper-ed 'though covered by the Night. So Differ-nt 'are the Effects of Courage and Fear, and ſo 'juſt the Rewards of both; the firſt, which 'ſeeks Dangers, often avoids them; the other 'often runs into them by endeavouring to 'eſcape them: Much greater Numbers falling 'in all Battels by the Purſuit of thoſe that 'Fly, than by the Slaughter of thoſe that Fight.

'Nothing ſeems to ſhow the Greatneſs of *Eng-'land* ſo much at this Time, as that *Ha-'rold* ſhould be able to aſſemble ſo mighty an 'Army to Oppoſe this Invaſion; and find above 'Threeſcore Thouſand Men, Brave enough, 'not only to Fight, but to loſe their Lives in his

Ch. VII

'Defence: For ſo many are agreed to be Slain 'of the *Engliſh* at the Battel of *Haſtings*; 'where he loſt his Crown and his Life together, 'and left the Field, with the Kingdom, to this 'Brave *Norman* Conqueror. This was the Man, 'theſe the Forces, and ſuch the Circumſtances, 'that contributed to ſo Famous an Enterprize, 'by which the Fate of *England* was determin'd 'in or about the Year 1066.

'The Duke after this Famous Victory reſolv'd 'not to loſe the Fruits and Advantages he had 'thereby gain'd (which is often done) for want 'of Speed and Vigour in the Proſecution, where-'in Celerity is ſometimes of more Conſequence 'than Force: Therefore, after the Purſuit of 'his broken Enemies, and a ſhort Refreſhment 'of his own Army, he began immediately his 'March towards *London*, where was all the 'Strength then left in the Kingdom, believing 'if he could be Maſter of the Head, the reſt 'of the Body would follow, without more Strug-'gle or Reſiſtance.

'In his March he is ſaid to have exercis'd 'much Cruelty towards all he found in Arms, 'with great Rigour and Oppreſſion upon the 'other Inhabitants, and Spoil of the Countries 'where he paſs'd, till entering into a Woody 'Part of *Kent*, and advancing with his Van-'guard before the reſt of his Army, he found 'himſelf environ'd with mighty Numbers of '*Kentiſh* Men, who had conceal'd themſelves 'in the Wood by carrying every Man a great 'Bough of a Tree, like a Shield in his Hand. 'But when they ſaw the *Norman* Troops, and 'the Duke at the Head of them, within their 'Danger, they began of a ſudden to March 'like a moving Wood, till approaching their

'Ene-

'Enemies, they threw down their Boughs, and 'discover'd on all Sides a Multitude of Brave 'Armed Men, ready to Charge the *Normans*, 'that ſtood ſurprized and amazed at the Strange-'neſs of the Sight, which appear'd as if a 'Wood had been by ſome Enchantment tranſ-'form'd into an Army: But the *Kentiſh* Men 'approaching, made a Halt, and ſent the Ab-'bot of St. *Auſtins* to tell the Duke, that 'all the Men of that Province were aſſem-'bled to Defend their Country and their Li-'berties, or to Sell their Lives as Dear as 'they could; that if he would Swear to Pre-'ſerve them, in thoſe Ancient Laws and Cu-'ſtoms, under which they and their Ance-'ſtors had ſo long liv'd, they were all ready 'to lay down their Arms, and become his Sub-'jects; if not, he muſt prepare to Fight with Men 'that had reſolv'd to loſe their Lives rather 'than their Liberries and Laws. The Duke 'finding he was too far advanced to join the 'Body of his Army before he engaged, and 'unwilling to venture all his Fortunes and 'Hopes againſt ſuch numerous Bands as theſe 'appear'd, and of ſo Deſperate Men, granted 'to all the Inhabitants of the Province of *Kent* 'the Preſervation and free Enjoyment of all 'their Ancient Laws and Cuſtoms under the '*Saxon* Kings, Swore the Obſervance of this 'Grant, received their Homage, and ſo pur-'ſued his March. Ch. VII.

'This is repreſented as a forc'd Prelude to 'a Subſequent, Voluntary, Act of this Prince, 'whereby he made or confirmed the ſame Con-'ceſſion, in general, to all the reſt of the 'Kingdom. And though this Adventure of the '*Kentiſh* Men be not recorded with great Evi-

'dence of Truth, or Agreement of Circum
'ſtances, or of Time, (for ſome Writers plac
'it before his firſt Arrival at *London*, other
'after, and upon an Expedition to Reduc
'the Caſtle of *Dover*,) yet it is related by
'many Authors, and is ſo generally receiv
'by vulgar Tradition, that it ſeems not t
'be omitted: But when or however it hap
'pen'd, or whether at all or no, is not Ma
'terial to the Hiſtory of this Prince, or to th
'following Actions or Inſtitutions of hi
'Reign.

'In the City of *London*, beſides the grea
'Numbers and Riches of the Inhabitants
'were retir'd moſt of the Great Nobles o
'the Kingdom, both Eccleſiaſtical and Secu
'lar, who had not been engaged in the
'Action on either Side, and attended what
'would be the Iſſue of this ſtrong and vio
'lent Convulſion of the State. Upon Deci
'ſion of the laſt Battel they all conſulted
'together with the Citizens what was beſt
'to be adviſed and done for their common
'Intereſt and Safety, as well as of the whole
'Kingdom, which was like to run their Fate
'by following their Example: Many of the
'Secular Nobles were for collecting what
'Forces they could, and making a Stand, ei
'ther in the Field, or in the Town, and there
'by trying their Fortunes, or at moſt ma
'king Conditions; for they could not bear that
'great Poſſeſſions and Lands ſhould lye at
'the Mercy of a Prince, whoſe Will might
'be as Boundleſs as his Power, and who had
'ſo great a Train, to be Rewarded at their
'Coſt, and by the Spoils, if he pleaſed, of
'the whole Kingdom.

'The

'The Citizens feared the Hoſtile Entrance of an incenſed Army, upon a weak Reſiſtance, and the ſudden Loſs of their Poſſeſſions, which conſiſting chiefly in Moveables, might be ſeiz'd in a Day, and diſſipated paſt any Recovery by the very Grace 'of the Prince, or ſucceeding Compoſition between him and the Reſt of the Kingdom: 'They thought no Forces could be Collected, either in Time upon ſo ſudden an Approach, or with Strength enough to make 'Oppoſition in a Body that had loſt ſo much 'Blood, and without a Head to command 'them, or upon any Treaty to manage their 'common Intereſts to the beſt Advantage, 'and ſo they were diſpos'd to ſubmit to 'what they eſteem'd the Fate of the King-'dom. Ch. VII.

'The Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and reſt of the 'Clergy, were a Sort of a State apart, with-'in the State it ſelf, having a Juriſdiction 'Independant (as they pretended, and were 'uſually allow'd in that Age) upon the Se-'cular Power; they held their Lands and 'Poſſeſſions in the Kingdom by another Te-'nure than the Laiety pretended, and feared 'not to loſe them under any Prince that was 'a Chriſtian; which made them more in-'different of what Race, or by what Title, 'he held the Crown, and ſo more eaſie to 'fall in with the Stream of any Changes, or 'new Revolutions. Beſides, they were poſ-'ſeſs'd with the Fame of this Princes Piety, 'and the Opinion of his Right having been 'determined by the Pope's Approving and 'Aſſiſting it with his Benediction. They 'thought, as well as the Citizens, that this

'Tor-

Ch. VII.

'Torrent was not to be resisted; that
'faint and fruitless Opposition would but ex
'asperate the Duke, and make him continue
'as well as begin, his Reign like a Conque
'ror; and therefore esteemed the wise
'Part was to acknowledge his Right, an
'thereby Tempt or Persuade him into a fa
'fer and easier Form of Government, both fo
'himself and his Subjects, as a Just and Law
'ful King.

'The Clergy was in very great Authority a
'this Time, and among all Sorts of People i
'the Kingdom, having enjoy'd and exercis'd i
'here during the whole Course of the *Saxon*
'Reigns, after those Kings became Christians i
'this Island; nor could any other Authority rise
'so high, and spread so far, as growing from so
'many Roots: They were allow'd to be the
'Guides and Instructors of Mankind in all Spi
'ritual Worship and Divine Service, and even
'the Dispensers of those Graces and Forfeitures,
'upon which depended the Rewards and Punish
'ments of a Future State; which being greater
'and longer than those of this Life, gave them
'more Influence upon the Minds of Men, than
'any Secular Jurisdiction which can extend no
'farther. They had mighty Possessions in Lands
'throughout the Kingdom, as well as othe Rich
'es, from the Bounty of Pious Princes, of De
'vout and Innocent People, and from many o
'thers, who thought to expiate Crimes, or co
'ver ill Lives, by these kinds of Donation to the
'Church. These Possessions were esteem'd Sa
'cred, and as much went into this Stock every
'Age, so nothing ever went out; and all the
'Land in the Kingdom might in the Course of
'Ages have held of the Church, if this Current
'had

ad not been ſtopp'd by the Statute of *Mort-* Ch. VII.
main, in the Time of *Edward* the Firſt. 'Tis
Recorded, that of Sixty Thouſand Knights Fees,
hat were reckoned in *England* during the
Reign of this Firſt *Norman* King, there were
n that of King *John* Twenty Eight Thouſand
in the Hands of the Church. This gave the
Clergy (by the Dependance of thoſe that held
under them in ſo great Numbers) a Secular
Power annex'd to their Eccleſiaſtical Autho-
rity. They had, beſides, all the little Learning
which was in thoſe ignorant Ages, and paſſes
for Wiſdom among thoſe who want both; gives
a Faculty at leaſt of Diſcourſing, though per-
haps not of Judging, better than others, and
gains more Attention, and eaſier Applauſe, from
Vulgar Auditors. Laſtly, they were United
more than any other State upon One Common
Bottom, and in Purſuit of One Common Inte-
reſt, which was always pretended to be the
Greatneſs of the Holy Church, but indeed was
their own, and the Honours, Powers, and Ri-
ches of the Church-men, rather than of the
Church. By theſe Circumſtances, and the Ad-
vantage of ſuch a Complicated Strength, the
Clergy came to ſuch an Authority, that they
were Arbiters, if not of all Affairs, at leaſt of
all Conteſts in the Kingdom, and turned the
Ballance which Way ſoever they fell in, were
ſtill applied to by the weaker Side, had the
Chief Sway, and were the Chiefeſt Inſtruments
in all thoſe many Revolutions of State, irregu-
lar Succeſſions, and even Uſurpations of the
Crown, that happen'd between the Time of the
Conqueſt, and the Reign of *Henry* the Third;
which may eaſily be obſerved, and cannot eaſi-
ly be wonder'd at, by all who read the Story of

thoſe

Ch. VII. ‘ thoſe Reigns, and conſider what has been ſa
‘ upon this Subject, important enough to excu
‘ this Digreſſion.

‘ But to return to our Conqueror, upon h
‘ March to *London*, and the Conſultations the
‘ how to receive him. The Opinions and Cou
‘ cels of the Biſhops and Eccleſiaſticks eaſily pr
‘ vail'd, and ſeem'd to have had more Reaſo
‘ as well as Authority, than the reſt; ſo it wa
‘ unanimouſly reſolv'd, not only to ſubmit to
‘ Power they could not oppoſe, but to acknow
‘ ledge a Title they could not diſpute. The Duke
‘ upon his Approach to the City, was receiv'd
‘ with open Gates, and open Arms, at leaſt with
‘ out any ſeeming Reluctance or Diſcontent, a
‘ ny more than of Reſiſtance. He claim'd the
‘ Crown at his Arrival, by the Teſtament of *Ed*
‘ *ward the Confeſſor*, without any mention of
‘ Conqueſt, which was infinitely grateful to all
‘ the Nobles and Commons of the Realm; whe
‘ ther it was a Strain of his own Prudence and
‘ good Natural Sence, or a Perſuaſion of thoſe
‘ *Engliſh* who had either aſſiſted or invited his
‘ Invaſion, or Apprehenſion of ſo Great and
‘ Brave a People, if offended by the Name of
‘ Conqueſt, and irritated by the Dangers or Fears
‘ of a Lawleſs Arbitrary Power, to which they
‘ had not yet their Hearts or Strength broken e-
‘ nough eaſily to ſubmit.

‘ He was Crowned King at *Weſtminſter* by the
‘ Archbiſhop of *York*, who with *Stigand*, Arch-
‘ biſhop of *Canterbury*, had been the great Pro-
‘ moters of thoſe Councils, by which he enter'd
‘ upon ſo peaceable a Beginning of his Reign.

‘ At his Coronation he took the Oath, uſual
‘ in the Times both of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh*
‘ Kings, which was to protect and defend the
‘ Church,

Church, to obſerve the Laws of the Realm, and to govern the People juſtly: After which he caus'd Fealty to be Sworn to him by all the *Biſhops*, *Barons*, and *Nobles*, with the *Magiſtrates* of the City, who had aſſiſted or attended at his Coronation, and thereupon found himſelf on a ſudden ſettled in a calm and quiet Poſſeſſion of a Crown he had ſo long aſpired to, and ſo lately won by One ſingle, tho' violent, Blow. Ch. VII.

6 AP 58

THE

THE CONCLUSION

Vindicating the

HONOUR AND GOVERNMENT OF THE NATION.

BRitain may at last take a Review of her self, how she can be able to defend the Honour of her People, who now derive their Original from a Mixture of so many Nations: How she can free her self from a Subjection to *Rome*, which pretends to so many Missionaries dispatch'd hither for her Conversion; and how she can Glory in a Government that has been shatter'd by so many Revolutions. As to our Primitive Original, it must be acknowledg'd that Mankind is everywhere the same: * *God made of One Blood all Nations*

† *Acts* 17. 26.

of

of Men, for to dwell on all the Face of the Earth: They were all endow'd with Senſe and Reaſon; but there has been an Univerſal Degeneracy, and ſuch a Darkneſs has overſpread the former Ages, that no Nation now knows how to boaſt of their Anceſtors, except that which God reſerv'd as his Peculiar People, where he maintain'd his true Church and Religion.

† *In Times paſt God ſuffer'd all Nations to walk in their own Ways:* He permitted that the Law of Nature, written upon every Man's Heart, and the Divine Revelations given our Firſt Progenitors, ſhould be obliterated by Senſuality, and run down by the Prevalence of Luſt and Paſſion; that People ſhould forget him, and take up with any viſible Object of Worſhip; and that they ſhould be ſo far deluded by ſuch Repreſentations, (under which the miſchievous Spirit got himſelf to be worſhipp'd as God,) as to fall into all manner of Cruelty and Debauchery. Eſpecially ſuch was the Infelicity of thoſe who were ſcatter'd up and down in the more uncultivated Parts of the World, who learn'd the Manners of thoſe wild Beaſts they hunted, and loſt the Civility of Humane Society by living in Woods and Deſarts. † *Acts* 14. 16.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that ſuch was the ſad Condition of the Old *Britains*, or *Picts*; they had loſt the Worſhip of the True God; and * *as they did not like to retain him in their Knowledge, God gave them over to a Reprobate Mind, to do thoſe Things which are not convenient.* Their Families were like ſo many Herd of Cattel; the Superiority, and Reverence, and Modeſty, which Nature requires between Parents and Children, were utterly overthrown. Yet amidſt their darkeſt Errours, and moſt barbarous Corruptions, * *Rom.* 1. 28.

Ch. VII. ruptions, they had such a Sense of Honour left that they would not debase themselves with those that they esteem'd Vile and Mean, and scorn'd to do any thing in Secret which the Custom of their Country did not allow. This we have taken Notice of by † *Xiphiline*, in his Epitome of *Dio*, who gives us the smart Repartee of a *Caledonian* Lady to the *Roman* Empress *Julia*. It was in the Time of the Emperor *Severus*, *Anno Christi* 200, (for such were the *Picts* then in *Caledonia*, as the *Britains* were before the *Romans* had arriv'd among them.) 'The Wife 'of *Argentocoxus* the *Caledonian*, is said very 'handsomely to have replied to *Julia Augusta*, 'when she reproach'd her, that after their Women had been espous'd, they took an immodest 'Liberty among the Men. She answer'd, that 'we do much better satisfie the Necessities of 'Nature than you *Romans*; we openly allow it 'to the best Men, but you privately fornicate 'with the worst. This was spoken by a *Britain*, who does not seem to have lost all Sense of Honour.

† Severus, *Pag.* 343.

The *Romans* report that they found a greater Capacity in the Inhabitants of this Isle for Learning and Civility than in those of other Countries: As *Tacitus* gives it us in the very Words of *Cæsar*, they were wont * *ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre*; *to prefer the Genius of the* Britains *to the Studies of the* Galli: If they had more vigorous Remainders of the Humane Nature than others, it is certain that they did not want the Advantage of Education; for those who were the most Brave and Polite People in the World, liv'd so long, and did incorporate so entirely with us, that it was called the * *Roman* Isle.

* Tacit. de Vit. Agric. cap. 21.

* Prosper, cap. 41.

But

But all this had come far short of making us happy, if the Light of true Religion, which shines like the Rising of the Sun, when the dark Heavens have only some little Luminaries sparkling in them, had not visited *Britain*. Civility and Learning had but just made an Entrance, when St. *Paul* followed them with the Gospel of our Blessed Saviour, within Forty Years after it was first preached to the World: And it so mightily prevail'd, that before the End of the Second Century, we had *Lucius*, a Christian King, here; and a little after the End of the Third, *Constantine*, a Christian Emperor; in whose Time * we find the three Metropolitans of *Britain* at the Council of *Arles*, *Eborius* of *York*, *Restitutus* of *London*, and *Adelphius* of *Caer-Leon* in *Wales*. No Nation in the Western Part of *Europe* can pretend to greater and more early Advances in Civility, Learning and Religion, than *Britain*; and accordingly her Inhabitants have good Reason to Glory in their Original, especially if we take it from that Time wherein the Son of God came to restore Happiness to Mankind.

* Stillingfl. Anr. Brit. Ch. *P.* 79.

Thus have we seen our Country in its Glory; and had it always remain'd in this Condition, the Earth could not have afforded more of a Paradise: But there now comes a Grand Revolution, in which all *Europe* was swallow'd up, and her Beauty utterly defac'd by a Torrent of Barbarous Nations. The whole *Roman* Empire was broke to Pieces, like * *Iron mix'd with miry Clay*. In this great Catastrophe *Britain* must expect her Share; and her Condition was indeed very Miserable, if we view her Portraicture drawn by *Gildas* in her Mourning Dress. But we are not to dwell upon this Sad Subject, our Design is to pursue our Original, which, tho'

* *Dan.* 2. 41.

covered with a black Veil, has ſtill the Remainders of its Ancient Beauty. The War, it muſt be confeſs'd, devoured Multitudes; eſpecially thoſe who ſerv'd in the Armies: They were led into Foreign Countries, from whence they never return'd; and the weaker Soldiers which remain'd at Home, were either ſlain by the *Scots* and *Picts*, or afterwards by the *Saxons*, when they had ſubdued that Country which they came to preſerve. But for conſtituting the Body of this Nation, we muſt ſtill reckon upon the unwarlike People, who were employ'd in Trade and Husbandry; we muſt reckon upon Women and Children, whom we never read of to have been Maſſacred. Thus much will leave a great Stock of *Roman* Bravery and *Britiſh* Ingenuity.

The New Inhabitants who took Poſſeſſion of *Britain* were *Saxons*; the moſt Powerful and Warlike People at that Time in *Europe*, and for that Reaſon call'd in to defend her from the *Scots* and *Picts*, becauſe they were moſt able to do it. The *Romans* had the greateſt Difficulty to preſerve their Dominions from being invaded by them, to which Purpoſe they had a Great Officer, call'd the Count of the *Saxon* Shore, who was always to be upon his Guard againſt them. We have an undeniable Teſtimony of their Valour in that long War they had with *Charles the Great*, King of the *Franks*, when he ſet up the Empire of the *Weſt*: There were only ſome Remainders of them in the North Part of *Germany*; yet for Thirty Years, wherein he had many Bloody Conteſts with them, they maintain'd their Ground, and he deſpair'd of ever bringing them into Subjection, till he had provided another Coun-

try

y for them, where they might more happi-
enjoy themſelves.

Though they were thus Warlike, yet were
ey of all People moſt averſe from Blood and
uelty, as the truly Valiant always are.
his we find by the Laws and Conſtitutions
ey made here in *England*; thoſe Crimes
hich other Nations puniſh'd with Death,
ey were ſo tender of the Lives of Men, as
reſtrain by their *Wite* and their *Laſhlite*,
ecuniary Mulcts, ſeiz'd in Proportion to the
Dignity of the Perſon offended, and the Abi-
ty of the Perſon who committed the Offence.
ut though they were thus Merciful in pu-
iſhing Faults, yet never were any more care-
ul to prevent the committing of them: They
aid the ſtricteſt Obligations upon all that had
ny Relation to one another, for Preſerv-
ng their good Behaviour; and if any Miſ-
creants fled from Juſtice, the whole Hundred
was Fin'd to make Satisfaction for his Of-
fence.

Their Honeſt Integrity is teſtified by all the Laws and Writings of their Times; few Words ſerv'd to expreſs their Meaning; for where all is Tranſlated with good Faith, there needs no Subtilty to provide againſt E-vaſions.

But above all we have the higheſt Cha-racter of the Chaſtity of their Women, as ap-pears by the only Bloody Executions we find among them: It muſt be a Mighty Indigna-tion againſt a Crime that could drive them to ſuch Severity. The Quotation deſerves to be ſet down in the Original, ſince it is found in the Letter of ſo Eminent a Perſon as *Boni-face*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, to *Ethelbald*, King

* Spelman Concil. ad Ann. 745.

of *Mercia.* * ‘ *In antiquâ Saxoniâ, ſi Vi*
‘ *paternam domum cum adulterio maculave*
‘ *vel ſi mulier maritata, perdito fœdere ma*
‘ *monii, adulterium perpetraverit; aliquando*
‘ *gunt eam, propria manu per laqueum*
‘ *penſam, vitam finire & ſuper buſtum il*
‘ *incenſæ & concrematæ, corruptorem ejus*
‘ *pendunt: Aliquando, congregato exercitu*
‘ *mineo, flagellatam eam mulieres per pa*
‘ *circumquaq; ducunt; virgis cædentes, &*
‘ *ſtimenta ejus abſcindentes juxta cingulum,*
‘ *cultellis ſuis totum corpus ejus ſecantes*
‘ *pungentes: Minutis vulneribus cruentatam*
‘ *laceratam, de villa ad villam mittunt. Et*
‘ *currunt ſemper novæ flagellatrices, zelo pu*
‘ *citiæ adductæ, eamq; aut mortuam aut v*
‘ *vivam relinquunt, ut cæteræ timorem adultera*
‘ *di & luxuriandi habeant.* In Old Saxon
‘ if a Virgin had ſtain'd her Father's Hou
‘ with Adultery, or if a Married Woma
‘ had broken the Covenant of Matrimony
‘ and committed that Crime, ſometimes the
‘ compell'd her to tie the Halter with he
‘ own Hands, and hang her ſelf over her Fu
‘ neral Pile, where ſhe was Burnt, and reduc'
toAſhes. They hung up the Man that debauch'
‘ her. Sometimes a little Army of Wome
‘ would get together, and whip her throug
‘ the Towns round about; cutting off he
‘ Cloaths to the Girdle, they would not on
‘ ly laſh her, but prick and cut her with
‘ their Sciſſars; being Bloody and Wound-
‘ ed, they would ſend her from one Town to
‘ another. More Female Executioners would
‘ meet and laſh her, coming out with a Zeal
‘ for Modeſty; they would either leave her
‘ dead, or ſcarcely alive, that others might
‘ have

have a Dread of Adultery and Debauchery.

Soon after the *Saxons* were well ſettled here, and juſt about the Time that all their Seven little Kingdoms were united in One Monarchy, the *Danes* began to make their Pyratical Viſits: They were alſo of a *Gothick* Original, and therefore though a different People from the *Saxons*, yet not altogether averſe from their Cuſtoms and Inclinations. They did indeed dwell more to the *North*, and conſequently were more Barbarous: They came over hither *Pagans*, and therefore we muſt at firſt expect the Effects of Rudeneſs and Irreligion: But ſo ſoon as they began to be ſettled here, they fell in with that Chriſtianity which was planted in the Church, and thoſe Laws which had been eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom.

This is undeniable from that Excellent Agreement which was made between *Alfred*, King of the *Engliſh*, and *Godrun*, King of the *Danes* the Laws that were enacted by their United Authority do evidence not only a Love for Juſtice, but a Zeal for Religion: Inſomuch that all thoſe who would perſiſt either in their Injurious Plunderings, or Heatheniſh Superſtitions, were glad to quit the Kingdom; and when they made an Attempt to have got it again into their Hands, they were utterly beaten out, and the Nation clear'd of them.

Indeed in King *Ethelred*'s Long and Unhappy Reign new Hoſts of them came over; not only Valiant Soldiers, but ſuch lazy Lurdans as were a great Grievance to the *Saxon* Women. But moſt of theſe were diſpatch'd out of the Way by that King's Bloody Contrivance; who might have their Diſorders and Breach of Promiſe

miſe to plead for his Excuſe, but can never juſtifie thoſe private Murders, which 'tis the Intereſt of Mankind to condemn: For no Vengeance ought to take Place without the due Proceedings of Law.

Under the Three *Daniſh* Reigns *England* muſt reckon to be peſter'd with the worſt Sort of People that *Denmark* did afford: Gleams of Proſperity hatch and invite the worſt Vermin to come abroad. But then the following Revolution was ſo violent, and with ſuch a Fury of the Mob, that the moſt guilty were glad to run faſteſt away: And the Reign of *Edward the Confeſſor*, a Chaſte and Vertuous Prince, immediately ſucceeding, ſettled the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom; nor could any continue in Power here, but thoſe that were for an *Engliſh* Intereſt both in Church and State.

The *Normans* liv'd ſtill more *North* than the *Danes*, and therefore the *Engliſh* may ſeem to be more debas'd by their Mixture. But upon further Conſideration we may reaſonably apprehend they rais'd that Warlike Spirit and Vigour which they met with here in *England* to a higher Pitch.

Duke *William* brought over with him the Braveſt Captains and Soldiers that *France* and all the neighbouring Countries afforded; thoſe whoſe Courage and Ambition put them upon raiſing their Fortunes in the World: Theſe were join'd with our Ancient Nobility, and made the great Barons of the Kingdom.

They came over a tight and well-diſciplined Army, without the Impediments of Wives and Children, as the *Germans* were wont to encumber themſelves; ſo that only the nobler Part of them were planted here, the reſt of them return'd

turn'd Home to their Families: They had inhabited *France*, and receiv'd the Chriſtian Religion a Hundred and Fifty Years before, ſo that in this Revolution there was no Demoliſhing of Churches, or Deſtruction of the Country, more than the Policy of the preſent War requir'd.

Indeed the *Danes* came over more like Swarms, and brought many of their Wives and Children along with them; but we do not read of their planting Colonies, and building Cities, as thoſe did who had long the Sovereign Dominion here. They could bear no great Proportion to the People which inhabited *Britain* before; ſo that we muſt depend upon the *Britiſh*, *Roman* and *Saxon* Women for the Breed of the Kingdom, who have deſerv'd ſo well, that no Nation in the World has a greater Honour for the Sex, nor finds ſuch Happineſs in their Advancement to the Throne. *Britain* can congratulate her People as moſt renown'd on the ſurer Side; and if her Sons were ſlain in the Wars, her Strength ſpent in defending either the Empire or her ſelf, ſhe had the greateſt Heroes of the neighbouring Nations to ſupply the Loſs. Such a Mixture muſt be much more Generous and Powerful than Nature left to it ſelf in a Solitary Retirement. That *Britain* has been ſo much courted, and ſo often forc'd by her Foreign Lovers, is a Demonſtration of the Excellency of that Prize which ſo many have fought for: None venture their Lives to rob a poor Man. The moſt Subſtantial Enjoyments of Humane Life abound here; Nature never found a better cloathing than our Wooll affords; nor is there any thing comparable to our Corn and Cattle for mainraining the Strength of Man. The Rarities we import from abroad are commonly the

Support of Pride and Luxury; but if we do uſe them for Delight and Ornament, we return that which is much more Neceſſary and Advantageous to thoſe that Traffick with us. *Britain* is the Place where all Mankind would live, but ſhe admits only the Nobler Part into her Embraces.

But the Happineſs of *Britain* does not lye only in the Things of this World; the ſhort Enjoyments of a Tranſitory Life, which gratifie the inferiour Part of Man, are no Ways worthy to be compared to *the Life and Immortality that was brought to light by the Goſpel.* For this we cannot acknowledge our ſelves indebted to the *Romans*, though we muſt with all Gratitude confeſs that we receiv'd Civility and Learning from them: The Imperial Power was then an Enemy to our Religion, and deſtroy'd all that made Profeſſion of it; till we ſent them a Chriſtian Emperor from hence, as the Bleſſed Product of that Chriſtianity which had been planted here ſome Ages before.

For the firſt Converſion of this Iſland we need no longer depend upon the Fabulous Legends concerning St. *Peter* and *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*; theſe might ſerve in the Dark Ages: But now that Learning has ſet Hiſtory in a true Light, we have from good Authors an undoubted Teſtimony, that the great Apoſtle St. *Paul* firſt planted Chriſtianity in *Britain*: And for him we are no more obliged to the *Romans*, than we are to the *Jews* for crucifying of our Saviour. They indeed brought him Priſoner to *Rome*, and ſo he came nearer to us; but whether they had done this or no, he deſign'd a Journey into *Spain*, and theſe Parts: They afterwards cut off that Precious Life at *Rome*, which was his Advantage,

but

but our great Loſs. Had he liv'd a little longer we have all the Reaſon in the World to believe that he would have enrich'd the Churches of the *Weſt* with ſuch Epiſtles as were the beſt Treaſure in the *Eaſt*.

As St. *Paul* was the Apoſtle of the *Britains*, ſo the *Romaniſts* will have *Auſtin* the Monk to be the Apoſtle of the *Engliſh*; that he being ſent by Pope *Gregory*, we derive our Chriſtianity from the See of *Rome*, and ought to pay our Obedience to it. But were there never ſo much in this Pretence, yet it cannot be doubted but that we in the firſt Place owe our Obedience to our Lord Jeſus, who is above all, the True Head of his Church; and therefore we are obliged to proteſt againſt all thoſe Errors and Superſtitions which are prejudicial to his Religion. This is undeniable, and this is enough to defend the preſent Conſtitution of the Church of *England*.

As far as they acted like Chriſtians, to promote the Goſpel in a Heathen Nation, we cannot but highly commend their Endeavours; and according to that truly Chriſtian Spirit, with which our *Britiſh Dinoh* ſpoke, we muſt ſay, that to love every one in his Degree, in perfect Charity, and to help every one by Word and Deed to be the Children of God, we are moſt deſirous; but other Obedience than this we do not know due to him whom they name to be Pope. And therefore as theſe Ancient Chriſtians declared that they were under the Government of the Biſhop of *Kaerlon* upon *Uſk*, who was to overſee them under God, to cauſe them to keep the Way Spiritual: So are we under the Government of thoſe Biſhops, whom the Providence of God has at this Day placed over us, and have no Dependance upon any other. Nor

Nor can any Merits, which they pretend o old, invalidate our preſent Obligations; nay when we come to take a View of them, the Ty ranny, the Fraud, the Contention with whic they acted cannot but make us renounce the Communion, as the Ancient *Britains* did. Suc was their Pageantry when they landed in *Ken* that they were taken for Conjurers, rather tha Preachers of the Goſpel; and if we compar their Proceedings with the Acts of Chriſt's A poſtles, recorded in Holy Scripture, thoſe Su picions would certainly have entred into th Hearts of all thoſe that had been Chriſtians al ready. The Old *Britains*, when they met with them went upon more undoubted Grounds; they wer ſure that our Saviour was Meek and Lowly, and that he requir'd his Diſciples to be ſo; if ther theſe Men were Proud and Arrogant, and ſough above all to bring them into Subjection, they could not believe they were ſent from God, but had more Mind to ſet up themſelves, than to do him Service. This is evident upon the preſent Occaſion; for if promoting Chriſtianity had been their Chief Deſign, they would have been glad to have fallen in with the Kingdom of *Wales*, where that Religion already prevail'd; they would not in the Bitterneſs of their Spirit have denounced Judgments againſt their Fellow-Chriſtians, and rejoiced in the accompliſhing of them, eſpecially when ſo many Hundred Chriſtian Miniſters were Maſſacred, whilſt they were Praying in the Preſence of the Army againſt the Invaſion of *Ethelfrid*, a Pagan King of *Northumberland*.

It would be taken ill if we ſhould diſcredit thoſe Miracles which the *Romaniſts* have related for ſetting up their Authority and Superſtition: But

But ſhould they be ſet out with all the Advantage poſſible, yet now the Chriſtian Religion is ſo well known they cannot be digeſted. *Auſtin* and his Companions met the *Britiſh* Biſhops, the Grand Conteſt was, whether a New Foreign Authority ſhall bring an Ancient Apoſtolick Church into Subjection? Can we believe that for this God ſhould exert the Power of Heaven, and make a blind Man ſee? We are taught to regard a Doctrine more than a Wonder; and if it be wrought to ſupport an Unchriſtian Pride, we are ſure it could not be done by his Power who condemns it.

The Converſion of *Eadbald*, the Son of *Ethelbert*, the firſt Chriſtian King of *Kent*, after he had reſtor'd Paganiſm, and Baniſh'd his Biſhops, is ſo different from what we read in the firſt Ages of the Church, that it looks like the ſetting up of a new Chriſtianity. St. *Peter* the Apoſtle is ſaid to come and laſh *Laurentius*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to leave ſuch dreadful Cuts in his Fleſh, that the Heathen Prince, upon the View of them, preſently renounced his Inceſtuous Marriage, and reſtor'd the Religion which he perſecuted. St. *Paul* had no ſuch Way of Converting King *Agrippa*.

The Grand Controverſie about *Eaſter* and the *Tonſure* had as little of Chriſtianity in it. The Queſtion was not whether there ſhould be an Annual Commemoration of our Bleſſed Lord's Life, Death and Reſurrection? But whether their Ancient Cuſtoms ſhould be laid aſide, and the new Obſervations of *Rome* be received? They never diſputed thoſe Ceremonies which related to Decency and Order, which were Authoriz'd by the continual Uſage of the Church; but whether their Prieſts ſhould wear upon their Heads a Mark

a Mark of Submiſſion to the Papal Authority. This was underſtood by the wiſeſt of them, and therefore tho' King *Oſwi* was terrified with the jingling of St. *Peter*'s Keys, yet thoſe who would maintain the Freedom of the *Britiſh* Churches, were all caſt out like Heathens and Publicans.

To ſum up all, what did the *Engliſh* get by the Miſſion of *Auſtin* the Monk? If it be ſaid they got Chriſtianity, then it muſt be conſider'd what Sort of Chriſtianity it was? Was not the Authority of *Rome* entail'd upon it? Did it not grow up into ſuch Superſtition and Idolatry as differ'd from the Heathen only in Name? Inſtead of worſhipping the Pagan Gods and Goddeſſes, they came to adore ſuch a Multitude of He and She Saints, that the Worſhip of the True God and his Son Jeſus Chriſt was very little regarded. It cannot be ſaid that the *Engliſh* never had been Chriſtians if the Popiſh Miſſionaries had not made them ſo: For the True Religion was pent up in *Wales*, and by the Zeal of many Pious and Learned Men was ready to break out ſo ſoon as ever the *Saxon* Prejudice had been a little rebated: Nay, they were already planted in the *North* Part of *Britain* with mighty Succeſs, and Converted more of the *Engliſh* Nation by the Sincerity of the Goſpel, than the other did by all their Political Contrivances.

Theſe different Converſions made different Parties in the Nation. Thoſe of *Britain* would maintain their Ancient Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, thoſe of *Rome* would bring in a Papal Tyranny, which overthrew the Truth of Religion; and if this would not be ſubmitted to, *Britain* muſt caſt out thoſe that had moſt effectually laboured

in

in the Converſion of her Inhabitants. Certainly inſtead of owning this *Romiſh* Miſſion to be the Original of our Chriſtianity, we muſt from hence date the Ruin of it: Which fell into ſuch a Condition, that we liv'd in a continual Apoſtacy from the True Faith and Worſhip of Chriſt, till our Holy Biſhops and Martyrs reform'd the Church, and ſet us again upon the *Britiſh* Foundation.

It is a Sad Miſtake of thoſe who have a Prejudice againſt Epiſcopacy, that it is an Invention of the *Popiſh* Times, and that our *Reformers* ſo modell'd the Conſtitutions of our Church, as they might be moſt agreeable to the Humour of the *Romaniſts*. But certainly the Hiſtory of *Britain* may convince any Man of the contrary. The *Popiſh* Times did not begin at the Council of *Arles*, yet there we had our Biſhops: The Fathers of the Council of *Nice* had ſpent their Days under the ſevereſt Perſecutions of the Heathen, and were juſt entred upon the Morning of the Chriſtian Empire, and ſhall we think that Popery was then prevalent? Our Church is now ſettled as it was at that time: Not only Biſhops all over *Britain*, ſo far as it was Chriſtian, but very near the ſame Number of Biſhops. The Three Chief Biſhopricks were ſettled at Three moſt diſtant and proper Places to have Juriſdiction over the reſt, *London*, *York* and *Caerleon*: There were in all 28 Cities, and accordingly 28 Biſhopricks, as the Number is given us both by *Gildas* and *Bede*; and if we have now Two leſs, yet ſo much of *Britain* as lyes between *Berwick* and *Edinburgh*, now belonging to *Scotland*, may well be allowed for the making of Two. At the Council of *Nice* the Juriſdiction of their Metropolitans was ſettled, and the

the Union of all the Biſhops of the Province provided for: Such was the Order and Harmony of the whole Clergy, that tho' the Dioceſs was ſo large that it could not be particularly known and taught by the Superiour Officers of the Church, yet every one acting in his Place, and being accountable to thoſe above him, there was no Defect either in the Doctrine or Diſcipline of thoſe Primitive Times.

Certainly there is Demonſtration for Epiſcopacy, in that there were not only Biſhops before Popery, but when the Popiſh Miſſionaries ſet up in the World, the Old Biſhops were the very Men that made the Oppoſition againſt them. Nothing can be more undoubted in Hiſtory, than that the *Britiſh* Biſhops met *Auſtin* and his Companions at the Famous Oak upon the Banks of *Severn*, and there utterly broke with them, peremptorily refuſing Subjection to the Pope of *Rome*. 'Tis alſo as certain that *Colman*, Biſhop of *Lindisfarn*, and his Northern Clergy, who had their Original Chriſtianity from *Britain*, maintain'd the Grand Diſpute at *Streanſhale* againſt *Agelbert*, *Wilfrid*, and the reſt of the *Romaniſts*; that they retir'd and forſook their Preferments rather than they would ſubmit to the Impoſitions of *Rome*. The laying aſide their Ancient Obſervations, and receiving the Papal Tonſure, were looked upon by them both as Innovations, and Badges of Servitude to a Foreign Power, and therefore rejected by them, as they are by us at this Day. We muſt maintain, like them, the Cuſtoms of the Church, which have been from the beginning; there always was a Commemoration of Chriſt and his Apoſtles at certain Times, which we alſo obſerve without any He or She Saints of the *Roman* Make:

There

here always was a Submiſſion to the Authority f the Church in Matters of Decency and Or-er, which is all that we require, without the leaſt ubjection to the Church of *Rome*: We yeild o Deference, we utterly renounce her Autho-ty over us. And to ſuppoſe that our Reformers ither wanted Judgment to diſtinguiſh between he Ancient Cuſtoms of the Church, and the ater Inventions of Popery, or that they wanted ntegrity to the true Chriſtian Religion, whoſe Works and Martyrdom bear Witneſs in their Favour, is ſuch a Pretence as cannot ſupport it ſelf under a ſincere Conſideration.

We ſhould be fond of Epiſcopacy, if we did but review that Oppoſition which the Pope always made againſt it; if we did but obſerve how he could never compaſs his Ends, but by the Deſtruction of its Power. He rais'd up the ſeveral Orders of Monks, that thoſe who were employ'd in Religion might depend upon him, and not upon their Biſhops; he exempted the Monaſteries from the Juriſdiction of the Dioceſans, that all thoſe rich Plantations might heartily eſpouſe the Tyranny and Superſtition of *Rome*. He did all he could to transform the Biſhops into Monks, and prevail'd ſo far, that every Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* thought it neceſſary to put on that Habit; which made his Epiſcopacy ſubſervient to another Sort of Government. He found that a Dioceſan Biſhop, with his Clergy in a Cathedral Church, was ſuch a Bulwark to the National Eſtabliſhment, that he could not dilate his Empire; he therefore by his Intereſt with King *Egbert* got the great *Oſwald* Law to paſs, by which the Preſbyters were caſt out, and Monks put into their Places. How can Epiſcopacy be a Popiſh Invention,

tion, when it has been all along the great Busi-neſs of the Pope to overthrow it?

We muſt ever own great Honour and Reve-rence due to *Columba*, who planted his Mona-ſtery or Univerſity in the Iſle of *Hye*, upon the Coaſts of *Scotland*, which was a Seminary for all the Chriſtian Miniſters of the North; but that the Cuſtom or Education of this Place ſhould be againſt Epiſcopacy is impoſſible, ſince they not only had a Biſhop in that little Iſland, but *Adamnanus*, one of the Succeſſors of *Columba*, gives us an Account of the great Defe-rence they always paid to that Order. Biſhop *Aidan* came from thence, converted the *Nor-thumbrians*, had his Epiſcopal See in the Iſland of of *Lindisfarn*, which was afterwards removed to *Durham*. After he was dead, Biſhop *Finan* was Ordained by the *Scots*, and ſucceeded him; by *Finan* was *Diuma*, the firſt Biſhop of *Litchfield*, Ordain'd, whoſe Succeſſors were alſo from *Scot-land*, and of the Epiſcopal Order. We meet alſo *Colman* from *Scotland*, that Biſhop of the *Nor-thumbrians*, who was ejected for the Proteſtant Cauſe. If *Columba* himſelf had ſuch an Affection of the Monaſtick Life, that he would not ſtir from *Hye*, and was of ſo great Authority that it was thought fit the Biſhops of the North ſhould be accountable to him and his Succeſſors, to whom ſo much was committed of the Royal Power, this can be no Argument againſt Epiſco-pacy it ſelf; ſince 'tis declared at the ſame time that ſuch a Submiſſion of Biſhops to an Abbot was a perverting that Order which was eſta-bliſhed in the Church. Thoſe who read only the Account of *Scotland* in the laſt Century, may perhaps have an Opinion that there was an Ancient of Presbyterian Goverment there; but all

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Authentick Hiſtories teſtifie that they had the ſame Conſtitution of Eccleſiaſtical Orders, which were in the reſt of *Britain*, and all other Chriſtian Nations.

Thus have we ſeen the Antiquity and Authority of the Church Government in *Britain*; the ſame being planted here by St. *Paul*, which we find in the Churches of the Eaſt: And notwithſtanding the many Revolutions, we find the ſame Conſtitution continued all along in the State. From the very beginning *Britain* has ever been under the Dominion of Monarchs, it did not fall under the Power of the *Romans* till the very time that their Commonwealth was changing into a Monarchy, and then they kept up *Britiſh* Kings, as that Old Way in which the People would give them a more chearful Obedience. At the Fall of the Empire thoſe Princes continued the Monarchy till the *Saxons* became their Maſters; and there were no ſooner ſettled in a Country, but they form'd it into a Kingdom: The only Difference between the *Britains* and *Saxons* was the greateſt Advantage a Monarchy is capable of, theſe had their *Mycle* or *Witena Gemot*, which in the *Norman* Times came to be call'd a Parliament. The Publiſher of the *Saxon* Annals renders it *concilium Procerum, the Council of the Nobles, and the great Council.* 'Tis certain it extended to all the Great Men both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil; but how far this Nobility then reach'd muſt be left to the Critical Antiquaries.

This is the great Strength of the *Engliſh*, when the Head and the Body are well united together; every one can declare what he wants, and when all concur the greateſt Relief may be given: Nothing can be undertaken without full Know-

ledge and Advice; and as Humane Power goes, nothing is likely to miſcarry, which all think fit to undertake, and give their Aſſiſtance in the Accompliſhment of. This is makes our Princes great, and our People happy: This is that beſt Conſtitution which the True *Engliſhman* would ever preſerve.

If we take the Opinion of one who has Recorded the *Saxon* Laws in his Hiſtory, there ſeems to be a Tranſmigration of them from one People to another. * *Brompton* tells us that thoſe which were publiſh'd in *Britain* by *Dunwallo Molmutius*, and *Martia* Queen of the *Britains*, were order'd by *Edward the Confeſſor* in his time to be the Common Law for the *Engliſh* Nation. Before this the *Danes* readily complied with the Cuſtoms they found here; and after this the *Normans*, for all their Conqueſt, were glad to eſtabliſh them for the Peace and Settlement of the Nation: So that though the ſeveral Revolutions broke in upon the preſent Government of *Britain*, yet every one found it their Intereſt to continue the ſame Incomparable Conſtitution.

* Cron. p. 956.

Thus have we as much Advantage in our Original as Nature affords; and the Circumſtances of the World, which ſo much improve Nature, can contribute in our Favour. The early approach of Religion, Learning, Civility to this Iſland, and the long Continuance of them here, have given us laſting Inclinations to that which is moſt Excellent. The moſt perfect Form of Goverment and Righteous Laws, which the Inhabitants of Great *Britain* enjoy, have raiſed them to ſuch a Generoſity of Spirit, as cannot be expected where Servile Fear and Flattery are more neceſſary. Long Cuſtom and good Education in this

this Generous Freedom give a particular Genius to the Natives, and therefore there is no Reaſon that *Britain* ſhould think ſo meanly of it ſelf, as to prefer the Modes of other Countries, or give up its own to be over-run by Swarms of Foreigners. She has ever been moſt kind and free to receive all of Merit into her Boſom; but ſhe will not make her ſelf Common and venture the Multitude of Nations to come in upon her, leſt too great Mixture ſhould ſpoil her preſent happy Conſtitution. Among the many Reproaches which have been unjuſtly caſt upon us, there is none more frequent than that *an Engliſhman never knows when he is well:* But for Confutation of this we can Challenge all other Nations to ſhew whether they have ſo long preſerv'd their Ancient Religion, their Laws and Liberties, the Conſtitution and Freedom of their Government, as the *Engliſh* have done: And accordingly they ſtill continue in the ſame Mind, to have the perpetual Enjoyment of them.

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